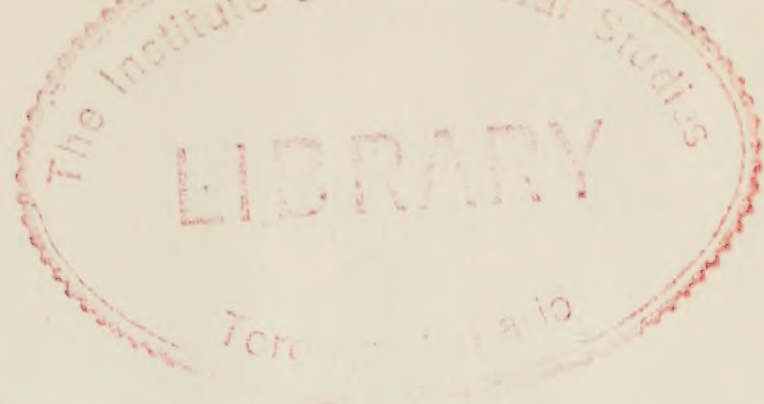


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BONNER BEITRÄGE ZUR ANGLISTIK

HERAUSGEGEBEN VON PROF. DR. M. TRAUTMANN.

HEFT XVIII.

A Grammar
of the
Dialect of West Somerset

Descriptive and Historical

by

E. Kruisinga, M. A., Ph. D.



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Preface.

The object of the present work has been explained in the Introduction. But I take this opportunity to correct a statement on p. 1. After the first sheets of this work had been printed my attention was drawn to a third historical grammar of an English dialect, 'The Dialect of Pewsey (Wiltshire) by Dr. John Kjederqvist' (1903). To an exhaustive description of the sounds Dr. Kjederqvist has, at the suggestion of Prof. Luick of Graz, added a complete history of the phonology of that dialect. I received this valuable book only when the ninth sheet was passing through the press, but have been able frequently to refer to it in the Additions. Prof. Luick's new book, 'Studien zur Englischen Lautgeschichte', treats of a problem also discussed here (Chapter IV). The study of his work, however, required more time than I could give to it while my book was being printed. But I hope to treat of the question of the lengthening of ME. *i* and *u* in another place soon.

In judging the attempt made in the Glossary to distinguish what is genuinely dialectal and what is due to or influenced by standard speech it should be borne in mind that I have only marked those words which can with some degree of certainty be shown to owe their pronunciation to standard English, according to the criteria laid down in §§ 563 ff. No doubt there are more, but we want proofs. A word like *imitation*, or *vowel*, or *logic* is probably not in dialectal use, but we cannot be sure of that; *logic* may for all we know be a genuine dialect-word. See also Glossary s. v. *oration*, *pedigree*; to *rendez-vous* Mr. Elworthy expressly adds: 'common'.

In conclusion it is a pleasant duty to acknowledge my indebtedness to Prof. K. D. Bülbring, whose teaching has enabled me to make what I hope will be found a satisfactory use of the admirable materials which Mr. Elworthy has put at our disposal.

Winterswijk, November 1904.

E. Kruisinga.

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Misprints.

On p. 21 line 2 from top, for *lip-trill* read *tip-trill*.
On p. 146, note 1, for *N. E.* read *N. W.*

INTRODUCTION.

The great number of English county-periodicals bears witness to the general interest in local history and customs. Amongst the papers published by them there are scarcely any, however, that deal with local speech; and the few that do, limit themselves to giving lists of 'dialect-words'.

The cause is, no doubt, that for the study of grammar much patience and industry is required, which are all the more unlikely to be forthcoming because the English public does not appreciate the result of such painstaking work.

The formation of the English Dialect Society has, it is true, encouraged dialect-work. Its publications supply valuable materials to the student of English dialects¹⁾.

But these also are mostly useful only to the lexicographer of English dialects²⁾; few give a full and clear account of the grammar of a dialect. Of the older works on English dialect grammar Dr. Murray's book on the dialects of the Southern Counties of Scotland was the first to combine the descriptive and the historical treatment. This method was also applied by prof. Wright to the dialect of Windhill. Here, however, the descriptive part is only used as the basis for a history of the grammar of the dialect, especially of its sounds. The hope expressed at the appearance of Wright's book that many more grammars of the same thoroughness might be written, has not been fulfilled. Not until this year (1904) has a second English dialect been treated in the same way: the dialect of Adlington (Lancashire) by Alexander Hargreaves. Apart from Ellis's

1) For a list of dialect-publications see prof. Wright's article '*Englische Mundarten*', in Paul's *Grundriss*. In the second edition of the *Grundriss* the article has not been brought up to date.

2) They are now being incorporated in Wright's great work '*The English Dialect Dictionary*'.

remarks on the history of the short vowels, we have a historical treatment of the verbs in the dialect of West Somerset in Dr. Bülbring's book on the 'ablaut' in the strong verbs in Southern English¹).

A different plan has been followed by prof. Luick, in his '*Untersuchungen zur englischen lautgeschichte*', and after Luick, by Horn, in his '*Beiträge zur geschichte der englischen guttural-laute*'. Starting from the ME. long vowels, Luick traces their development in all the English dialects down to the present day. Luick's results seem to me not very definite, and the value of his work, more than in its results, seems to lie in its suggestion of fresh lines of inquiry²).

What we now want, is a number of historical grammars of characteristic dialects. In this connection I may be allowed to quote the words of Luick, (*Anglia* 16, p. 491): "Wir müssen jeden dialekt in sich und für sich studieren und einen einblick in seine lautentwicklung gewinnen: erst dann können wir erkennen, was die vorhandenen formen eigentlich besagen".

Such grammars, however, should not only treat of the sounds, but include accidence, word-formation and syntax.

The primary question is, whether we have the necessary materials for such grammars. For, although the latter may be written equally well by foreigners and Englishmen, it requires the native of a county to collect full and trustworthy materials³).

Apart from Mr. Elworthy's books on the dialect of West Somerset there is especially one work to be considered: Ellis's *Early English Pronunciation*, vol. V.

Very widely diverging are the opinions of scholars on this book. It has been praised by Kluge as "the magnificent crowning of a proud edifice which will show new ways in the study of the English language".

Wright on the contrary says (*Windhill* p. 174): "the dialect test in Ellis (viz. for *Windhill*) contains several strange mistakes

1) The chapter on the verbs in the modern dialects has been translated for the English Dialect Society (nr. 63).

2) See the '*Vorwort*', p. VI.

3) Prof. Wright is collecting phonographic specimens of English dialects for the historical grammar which he has promised to publish as part of the last volume of the *Dialect Dictionary*.

both in the version and the notes to it. If his rendering of the dialect test of other dialect-speakers is as inaccurate as that of the Windhill dialect, the value of these tests for phonetic or philological purposes is not very great. The classified word-list (p. 391—4) also contains many mistakes.” And on p. 159 f. Wright says that according to Dr. Murray some of the Scotch dialects are not accurately represented either.

For Windhill Ellis had the help of a scholar with phonetic training; for many other dialects he had to content himself with far less competent informants: if then the Windhill dialect is not accurately rendered it is impossible to expect that the others are.

Prof. Luick, whose *Untersuchungen* are largely based on Ellis’s 5th volume, says that, although mistakes occur, they are not so serious for the historian of a dialect because they will ‘usually’ concern the analysis of a sound, not its identity with or difference from neighbouring sounds. And Luick remarks with truth that the latter is more important for the historian than an absolutely accurate analysis.

But it is not so certain that the mistakes are mostly of the kind indicated by Luick.

Another objection to Ellis’s book is the small number of words given for some dialects. Luick has shown (*Unters.* § 194) that even the comparatively full materials which Ellis gives for W. Somerset lead to wrong conclusions.

I believe, therefore, that Ellis’s materials, valuable as they are, can only be used safely in connection with those of well-known dialects.

Such a well-known dialect is that of West Somerset. Probably no English dialect has been treated so fully and accurately. Mr. Elworthy’s books give us complete information on the sounds and accidence with many interesting notes on syntax, whilst he finished his task with a dictionary of the dialect words in which the meanings are fully treated.

There can be no doubt that many of the pronunciations given by Mr. Elworthy are adaptations of the standard language. Not all the words can be dialectal, for no dialect-speaker uses as many as three thousand words. But of those that are certainly used many have according to one book a pronunciation

almost identical with standard English, according to another their pronunciation deviates widely from it¹). For reckoning we find (ræknin) and rEklin); for oration (orErshen) and (noorEørshen); for ashes (aksn) and (aarshəz).

The fullness of the word-lists often enables us to show where the standard pronunciation has influenced dialectal speech. When *end* is given as (een) and as (iin) we might hesitate to explain the first as due to the influence of the standard pronunciation, if an exclusively dialectal word, '*tend*' pronounced (tiin) did not prove that (ii) is the dialectal sound²). This also shows the value of words not used in English, although on the other hand the etymology of such words is often doubtful or unknown.

The arrangement of the present work is shown in the detailed list of Contents. I may here remark that the 1st Chapter, though based on the books of Mr. Elworthy and Mr. Ellis, does not only present their materials systematically, but also draws conclusions from them (e. g. on the mutual relation of sounds in the dialect).

The paragraphs on Accidence (both in the first and third chapters) include syntax. Elworthy's remarks on the latter concern the meaning of grammatical forms only, and it would not have served any useful purpose to separate them from accidence.

Following Wright's example I have traced, in the second chapter, the ME. sounds to which the modern stressed vowels and diphthongs correspond. The words are throughout given in their standard spelling; the pronunciation is given in the Glossary. Where the spelling leads to an entirely false idea of the pronunciation, and in the case of words showing a peculiar development, I warn the reader by italic type to look the word up in the Glossary.

In the third chapter an attempt is made to give the history of the late ME. forms down to the present time. The vowels and diphthongs are treated fully, the consonants only

1) It may not be superfluous to add that both statements may be correct. For wherever a standard pronunciation has arisen there is a tendency among dialect-speakers to approach it.

2) See § 214.

so far as they deviate from the development in standard English. Such changes as the loss of initial *k*, *g* in *know*, *gnaw* are not included, therefore. If any doubt should arise whether the dialect agrees in its pronunciation of the consonants with the standard language, the Glossary can solve it. In treating the history of the sounds I have not followed Wright's example in separating the native and the French words. Their development is in most cases the same and where it is not a separate paragraph is sufficient to show it. It should be remembered that many French words are really dialectal, not borrowed from modern standard English: they share, therefore, the development of the native English words. *Oration* e. g. might be suspected of being a literary word, but its pronunciation (with initial *n*), and especially its meaning (disturbance) show that it is really dialectal.

Some critics will perhaps think that I might have made more use of the Early MnE. grammars. But the information they supply is often unreliable, and, above all, really applies only to the standard language. I venture to hope, therefore, that my work has not lost much of its value by this omission.

The section on unstressed syllables includes a few remarks on stress; the materials at our disposal do not specially concern themselves with stress so that the information they supply is only accidental.

The chapter on the history of accident discusses only those things which are peculiar or remarkable, without repeating what the dialect shares with literary English.

The paragraphs on Derivation show how important this part of grammar is for the correct explanation of what often seem to be sound-changes (compare especially §§ 473, 481).

Although in the third chapter I have sometimes used the standard language for comparison, it seemed most convenient to treat in a separate, fourth chapter those points in the history of sounds which require a full discussion. In many cases the abnormal development is shared by other dialects and by the standard language. The digression these peculiarities require would have been inconvenient breaks in the course of the third chapter. I have added the etymology of some difficult words, again mostly words which have not been satisfactorily explained in their standard forms either.

The fifth chapter shows in some detail the relation of the West Somerset dialect to its neighbours, East and West. On the whole it is clear that it may be fairly taken as a specimen of the modern southern dialects. In some points, however, it differs from the surrounding dialects, especially from those to the East. These differences must have partly existed in earlier times; they show e. g. that the West Somerset dialect is not the descendant of either Alfred's or Aelfric's language.

The Glossary gives the pronunciation of all the words in Mr. Elworthy's '*Dialect of W. S.*' and his '*W. S. grammar*'. From the '*W. S. Wordbook*' I have taken those words only which show interesting points, either in their sound or with regard to accident. In order not to increase the bulk of the Glossary, I have omitted all words that are regular. I have also left undiscussed the differences of meaning between dialect and standard speech¹), only noting them when necessary for the identification of the words. The glossary gives references only where they are not evident, hence especially to words that have been separately discussed. If, for instance, the reader finds *east* transcribed with (*ees*) he does not need a reference to Chapter II § 155,¹ to find out that (*ee*) corresponds to ME. *ē*, nor to Chapter III § 258, stating that ME. *ē* has usually become (*ee*).

The Glossic transcription in Mr. Elworthy's books has been replaced by Palaeotype, not because the latter is so practical, but because it is used in Ellis's book and must therefore be familiar to all students of English dialects. For the sake of convenience it is moreover explained below.

The value of dialect-study is now generally acknowledged²). Prof. Behaghel even declares (*Literaturblatt*, January 1904, col. 2) that 'nearly all progress in our knowledge of the Middle High German sounds (in the last quarter of the nineteenth century) is due to the study of the modern dialects'. Although it is most unlikely that English dialects will ever become so

1) For the meanings of dialect words see the English Dialect Dictionary.

2) Its latest advocate with regard to the English dialects is Dr. J. H. Kern: *De beoefening der nieuw-engelsche tongvallen*. Groningen 1901.

important, there is no doubt that they can often elucidate the older periods of English. The loss of final d, t in the dialect of West Somerset e. g. shows that the omission of d, t in OE. mss. is not due to a mistake, and that editors are wrong in altering these readings. — The word reive, which does not occur in Southern English in older texts and might therefore be taken for a Norse loanword, is found in the modern W. Somerset dialect. This makes it quite possible that it is a genuine English word.

The most interesting result of this study, however, seems to be the proof it affords of the artificiality of Living Standard English. For artificial pronunciations compare the standard pronunciation of sovereign with the dialectal (§ 234)¹). The dialect neither shares the differentiation of they who and those who; see also the section on the verbs in the third chapter. In syntax the dialect has preserved the singular of nouns of measure after numerals, where the standard language uses a logical plural.

All this shows how much more natural the development of the dialect has been than that of the standard language.

1) See Köppel, *Spelling-pronunciations* (Quellen und Forschungen nr. 89). 1901.

TABLE OF PHONETIC SYMBOLS.

In Ellis V the following comparison is made of Palaeo-type with the analysis of vowel-sounds by Bell and Sweet:

Narrow			Wide		
		i	ɐ		i
ɛ	ə	e	a	ah	e
		E			æ
Rounded			Rounded		
u			u		y
o		ə			
A					

It may be convenient to compare the vowels of the dialect with those of better-known languages; the sounds, of course, are hardly ever identical.

- (i) = i in French si.
- (i) = i in English bit.
- (e) = ee in German see.
- (e) = e in English men.
- (E) = ä in Swedish lära.
- (æ) = a in English man.
- (y) = u in French lune (but see § 39).
- (ə) = eu in French peu.
- (ɛ) = u in English but (but see § 40).
- (a) = a in German mann.
- (u) = ou in French sou.
- (u) = u in English put.
- (o) = o in German so.
- (A) = aw in English law (short);

in a few cases Mr. Elworthy gives the Glossic notation (o) which in Palaeotype would be (o), Bell-Sweet's low—back—wide—round, but that is probably an oversight. For (ə) and (v) see §§ 33—40.

The symbols for the consonants can hardly be misunderstood. (dzh) and (tsh) represent the pronunciation of *g* in *age*, and of *ch* in *child*.

(dh) and (th) = *th* in *this* and *thin*. Instead of (q), Ellis's symbol for the *ng* of *sing* I use (ng). On the pronunciation of (r), as on all other details regarding the sounds I refer to the first chapter of this work.

The ME. vowel-quantities have been marked, as in Morsbach's grammar: — denotes original (OE.) length; ^ denotes lengthening in open syllables; ' denotes lengthening before consonant-groups. Hence I assume ME. ē in *sleep*, *leech*; ME. ê in *pea*, *even*; ME. é in *end* etc.

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Pabst Diss. = Pabst Die Sprache der mitttelenglischen Reim-chronik des Robert von Gloucester. 1889.

Sievers Afs. gr. = E. Sievers Angelsächsische grammatik,
3^e aufl. 1898.

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Unters. : see Luick.

Wdb. = Elworthy West-Somersetshire Wordbook. 1886.

Windhill = J. Wright A grammar of the dialect of Windhill. 1892.

WSD. = Elworthy The dialect of West-Somerset. 1875.

WSG. = Elworthy An outline of the grammar of the dialect
of West-Somerset. 1877.

CHAPTER I.

The Present Dialect of West Somerset.

A. Sounds.

Quantity.

1. The difference between long and short vowels is often slight. Ellis's introductory remarks to Elworthy's lists constantly refer to the difficulty of distinguishing between them. Murray (WSG. p. 112) says that "in most cases the distinction of quantity was not a marked one". Elworthy himself often hesitated.

2. Words ending in a vowel especially are often given without the dot denoting length, although they are inserted in the lists for long vowels.

In the list of words with (aa) all words ending in that vowel are transcribed into Glossic without the dot i. e. with (a). The same for words ending in (ii).

In other cases only one or two words have long final vowels. In the (oo) list f.i. eleven words ending in that sound are given without a dot i. e. with (o), and only one with the dot denoting (oo). In the list for (yy) *bran-new* has a dot, but *new* has not.

3. The omission of the dot after final vowels seems intentional. Perhaps Elworthy considered it superfluous; but if so, it is not clear why the dot should be used occasionally, unless it was to mark specially clear length. The final vowels would thus, as a rule, be of medial length. This seems the more likely because Ellis (V 154 ff.) has marked all the words that had (ii) in Elworthy's lists, with (i), as far as they occur in the Classified Word-list (some 50).

4. In non-initial position we find the same hesitation. The same word is given with a long vowel in one place, with a short one in another. For instances see the Glossary, *passim*.

5. No doubt stress also had often a good deal to do with it. Thus we can understand that *should* is pronounced with (əə) when emphatic, with (ə) or (ə) when unemphatic.

6. The nature of the following consonant may also have made a difference. At least we find (əə) for *goose, tooth, booth*, ending in a voiced consonant, whilst *foot* and *boot* ending in a voiceless consonant have (ə) by the side of (əə).

7. The first part of the diphthongs (Eɐ, iɐ, oɐ, uɐ) seemed rather long than short. Elworthy always writes the first element double to show length, but Ellis gives the short sound. They are printed here with single first element, although the sound may really be rather medial.

8. On vowel-quantity Ellis remarks (IV 1273): "That there *are* differences of length, no one can doubt. That those lengths are constant, either relatively or absolutely, cannot be affirmed. There is naturally a great difficulty in prolonging a sound at the same pitch and with the same quality of tone. Are vowel-qualities ever purely prolonged? Does not the quality as well as confessedly the pitch of spoken vowels, alter on an attempt to produce them? Are not all appreciably longer vowel-qualities really gliding, that is insensibly altering qualities so that the commencing and ending qualities are sensibly different? Such combinations as Mr. Hallam's (ii, uu) may possibly rather belong to this category than to that of intentional diphthongs. If we were to examine carefully what is really said, we should, I think have to augment the number of these phenomena considerably"¹).

9. This explains what Dr. Murray says with regard to West-Somerset (WSG. p. 112): that he could often hardly appreciate the difference between long vowels and the corresponding murmur-diphthongs, e. g. between (ii) and (iɐ), (oo) and (oɐ) etc.

10. Before l, r, especially, Murray heard only the vocal murmur of these vowel-like consonants, and "there was no suggestion of another syllable".

1) See also Sweet H. E. S. § 66: Diphthongs may arise from lowering the second half of a long vowel. In North-Welsh all long high vowels are followed by an obscure vowel-glide.

With this we may compare what Sweet says (HES. § 115) of the difficulty of "distinguishing the vocality of the vowel from that of the following vowel-like: (finnd) or (fiind) for instance having much the same effect on the ear". And (finnd) can hardly be distinguished from (fiend).

11. These considerations will explain how it is that the same word is in one place given with a long vowel, in another with the corresponding murmur-diphthong.

12. Instances:

both (aa) and (aæ) in *all*, *crawl*.

both (AA) and (Aæ) in *all*, *lord*, *fault*-, *fawn*.

both (æ) and (Eæ) in *hand*.

both (ee) and (Eæ) in *bleak*, *bleat*.

both (ee) and (iæ) in *bead*, *clean*, *creep(er)*, *sleep*.

both (oo) and (oæ) in *for*, *furrow*, *no*, *stone*.

both (əə) and (yæ) in *mule*.

I. Vowels.

13. The (æ) is the sound of a in literary *bad* etc.

Sometimes the sound was (ah) i. e. mid-mixed-wide and a few of these words were marked with an asterisk by Elworthy. See Glossary i. v. *ask*.

14. (aa) is frequently nasalized slightly, but not constantly. Like (æ) it occasionally approaches the mid-mixed-wide position (these cases are also marked by an asterisk).

15. (a) is the short vowel corresponding with (aa) but according to Murray (WSG. p. 113) the difference between (aa) and (a) is rather qualitative than quantitative: "(aa) is much thinner, approaching the mid-mixed-wide position".

16. The preceding paragraphs have shown that the difference between (æ), (aa) and (a) is slight. That it was sometimes impossible to distinguish them is shown by Elworthy's transcriptions. In some words he gives both (a) and (æ); see the Glossary i. v. *Candlemas*, *knot*, *marsh*, *morrow*, *rotted*. Both (aa) and (æ) are found for *stretch*, *wrestle*, *slate*. For the relation of (æ) and (E) see § 18.

17. (E) is the same vowel as ê in French *bête*. It occurs long (or medial) only as the first part of (Eæ).

In a few words the following consonant seemed to modify it, viz. *ft*, *st*, *s*, *t*, *nt* and in one word before *nk* and also once before *ks*. Before these consonants the sound approached (ɛ). The Gloss. marks these words with an asterisk.

18. (E) sometimes varies with (æ), cp. *Nicholas*, *breakfast*, *eleven*, *seven*, *said*, *make*.

On the other hand we also find (e) by the side of (E), as in *axe*, *flax*; both (i) and (E) in *bigness*, *six*. For (E) and (ə) cp. § 35; for (E) and (ɛ) cp. § 42.

19. (ee) is quite free from any tendency towards a diphthong. In Ellis the sound is in all cases replaced by (ee), except in *wreathe*, *drive*, *sight* (= large number).

20. (ii) like (ee) is always a pure vowel.

21. Occasionally (ii) is lowered to (ee). So both (ii) and (ee) are given for the vowel in *be*, *he*, *lief*, *yes*.

22. (i) should be clearly distinguished from (i), which is the *i* in literary *tin*, *knit*. According to Ellis, however, final (i) often becomes (i). This change is illustrated by the literary pronunciation of such a word as *pity*, where *y* is also lower than *i*. Moreover Elworthy's own lists show that even stressed (i) varies with (i): both sounds are given for *alike*, *sheep*, *steel*.

On the relation of (i) to (ə) see § 37.

23. (AA) is the sound of *aw* in lit. *law*. In many cases Ellis found it difficult to distinguish (AA) from (oo), but Elworthy appreciated the difference. In all the words with (oo) the vowel is final or followed by an *r*, except *coal* and *loth*, which are also inserted in the list for (AA). Most likely the difference between the two sounds, if real, depends on the following consonant.

Moreover in his Wdb. Elworthy omits (oo) altogether and gives (oo) or (ov) instead.

24. Sometimes (AA) varies with (aa). Both sounds are given in *all*, *ball*, *call*, *cloth*, *fall*, *false*, *halter*, *loft*, *saw s.*, *smaller*.

In most of the words the following *l* may have rounded (aa). But in all of them literary influence is possible.

We also find both (AA) and (a) in *bald*, *malt*.

25. Final (AA) seems occasionally to be raised to (oo): *blow*, *crow*, *flow*, *ought*, *soul* are given with both (AA) and (oo).

26. The distinction between (AA) and (A) is not clear (see § 1); (A) like (AA) varies with (oo) for which cp. § 23.

27. (oo) is always a pure vowel. It is not always clearly to be distinguished from (o).

28. (yy) was considered by Ellis and Murray to be a deep variety of French *u*. In WSD. the sound is marked with 2, in Ellis with 1. I have omitted the numbers in my transcription.

29. (əə) sounds like French *eu* in *peu*. Just as for (yy), I have omitted the diacritic numbers. Sometimes Elw. seems to have been unable to hear a clear difference between (əə) and (uu), see § 43.

30. Some words are transcribed with (yy) and (əə): *abuse, enough, due, huge, puss, slough, through, two, womb, wood, you*.

This points to (yy) being not quite so high as French *u* (see § 28).

31. (y) is only given in two words (*duke, sweep*), and Ellis thought the real sound was perhaps (ə).

In his later works Elworthy gave (yy) for *duke*, (ə) and (i) for *sweep*.

32. In list 23 of his WSD. Elworthy gives a number of words with (ə), shortened from (əə). Before *k* and in *sooner, future* he thought he heard a full long (əə), but Ellis considered the sound to be short (see § 1).

Before *l* the sound seems to be modified.

33. In WSD. several lists of words are given, the sounds of which seemed slightly different, although neither Ellis nor Elworthy could analyse them. These lists are 30 (Part I, II, III) and 28. Later examination convinced Dr. Murray that the vowel in all the words was the same, viz. the natural vowel, (ə) in Ellis's palaeotype. A look at the instances (Chapter II, § 167) will make it clear that the difference which Elworthy heard depended on the following consonant. I have therefore transcribed all these words with (ə).

34. The words in list 30 Part II (mostly with *i* + lip-consonant: *bib, glib*) have the same Glossic sign as those in list 23. This makes it doubtful whether they have (ə), see § 32, or (ə) as explained in § 33.

In a later work however (WSG.) Elw. explains the words in list 30 as having the 'natural vowel' i. e. (ə).

That proves that the difference between (ə) and (e) is hardly appreciable.

35. It is natural that (e), being the 'natural' or 'indifferent' vowel, should vary with other vowels.

On its relation to (e) cp. § 34.

Both (e) and (E) are given in *aslant, betwixt, bitter, breast, fit, miss, oats, shalt, sister, stiff, worst, worth, wreath*.

In most of these cases it seems likely that a velar or labial consonant has obscured the (E). That the varying transcriptions are intentional is almost certain, for in Elworthy's edition of the Exmoor Scolding *dedst* is in one passage transcribed with (e), and three lines further down (l. 90) with (E).

36. The vowel in *whip* is given as (e) and (u); the latter is no doubt due to the preceding labial.

The same explanation holds for (ɛ) by the side of (e) in *bellows, bulge, chimney, christening, groats, shift*; perhaps also in *shelter*. Both sounds are also given in *yon, beyond*.

37. For the relation of (e) and (i) the transcriptions of *curds* are very instructive: in WSD. Elw. says: '(kridz) always so pronounced'; in Wdb.: '(krədz) always so pronounced'.

A great many words which had (i) according to WSD., have (e) in the Wdb., except those where *k* follows.

38. (ɐ) occurs principally in unstressed syllables. In WSD. Ellis analysed it as (e), but in EEPr. he gives (ɐ) and the latter analysis is adopted here.

39. (ɐ) also occurs in a few stressed syllables (see Ch. II § 169), but in those Ellis hesitated between (ɛ), (e), and the vowel of list 30 Part II, now also (e), see § 33. In the Wdb. Elw. always gives (e). Both (e) and (ɐ) are given in *slim*, both (ɛ) and (ɐ) in *beyond, shift, burying, affront*.

All this shows the difficulty of distinguishing between (e), (ɐ), and (ɛ).

40. (ɛ) is not exactly the same sound as *u* in lit. *but*. It often resembles (o), from which it differs by being unrounded.

41. Before the ending (-dər) Ellis thought the sound was quite different. The explanation is no doubt to be found in the coronal articulation of the *r* which also affects the preceding *d* (see § 67).

Elw. in his Wdb. gives (ɛ) in all the words. Only in *gutter* he gives both (ɛ) and the sign which Ellis had invented for the vowel in this combination.

42. Variations like (i) and (ɪ) in *clutch*, *mellow* hardly require a comment after what has been said on the relation of (i) and (ə), and (ə) and (ɪ), see §§ 37, 36.).

The variation of (E) and (ɪ) before *l* is also a well-known phenomenon (See Gloss. i. v. *dull* and § 64).

43. (uu) is high-back-round. It is rare in this dialect, and in WSG. and Wdb. Elworthy gives in all cases another sound: (əə) in *above*, *crumb*, *gone*, *music*; (yy) in *durable*. (*fluent* is not given in either WSG. or Wdb.) See also §§ 242, 248, 285, 288.

44. (u) is very rare: it is only heard in *go*, *floor*, *tooth*.

45. (u) is the vowel in lit. *full*. It occurs rarely, and where it is given it nearly always varies with (ə), see § 36.

II. Diphthongs.

46. All the diphthongs are falling, and the second part is invariably (i) or (u), not (ɪ) or (ʊ). I have, however, not followed Ellis's example in marking these peculiarities, but state them here once for all¹).

47. (aai) has its first element decidedly long (see however § 49).

48. (ai) and (əi) were distinguished by Ellis in WSD. but the difference is so small that not rarely the same word has both. And later in EEP. V p. 146 Ellis says: "Mr. Elworthy originally appeared to me to make two forms (ai) and (əi) but on the last examination I did not find the separation certain, and I selected (ai). The first element is (a), approaching (æ)".

49. According to Ellis (ai) and (aai) are kept distinct. This is true on the whole but there are a few words with both (aai) and (ai), (əi) viz. *raise*, *abide*, *bait*, *fie*, *good-bye*, *high*, *my*, *why*. See §§ 62, 289.

50. The first element of (AAi) is usually long, longer than in the standard pronunciation of *boy*.

1) In a few words a long vowel is followed by (i), not (ɪ); the two sounds, however, do not form a diphthong, but belong to different syllables: *thaw* v. (dhAA—i); for (—i) cp. § 73. *most* (muu—is); for —is) cp. §§ 275, 298.

(AAi) varies with (aai) in *bait* (see the Gloss. i. v. *bait*). Although the two pronunciations have different meanings the origin of the vowels is the same so that we may compare the variation with that of (AA) and (aa), see § 24.

51. (AAi) preceded by a labial becomes (ɛi) Sometimes there is a confusion between (ɛi) and (AAi) which is easily accounted for by the pronunciation of (ɛ), as explained by Ellis (see § 40).

52. In WSD. Ellis distinguished (Eu) and (əu). (E) in (Eu) occasionally approached to (æ); (əu) was the same as the sound in the standard language. But in the Wdb. Elw. often gives the same word with both (Eu) and (əu). And in EEPr. V p. 146 Ellis gives only forms with (Eu). He adds that (Eu) “did not fall into (æu)”, a remark which directly contradicts what he had said on the pronunciation of (Eu) in WSD.

Murmur-diphthongs.

53. On the character of the murmur-diphthongs and their relation to the corresponding long vowels see §§ 8—13.

54. The first element of (iɐ) is usually long. Where it is medial the Gloss. marks it with an asterisk. The (i) is often lowered to (ii) or (i), see § 55.

55. The first element of (Eɐ) is often raised to (ee) or even (ii). Thus the sound becomes identical with (iɐ). Dr. Murrays says (WSG. p. 113) that he often heard no difference in words which according to Elw. had partly (Eɐ), partly (iɐ).

In accordance with this Ellis gives in EEPr. the transcription (eɐ) instead of (Eɐ). And even Elw. himself was not always able to distinguish (Eɐ) and (iɐ); at least in some words he gives both pronunciations. See the Gloss. i. v. *base*, *chair*, *heel*, *heal*, *shake*. WSD. gives both (eɐ) and (Eɐ) in *fair*, *bad*, *lane*. See Ch. III § 259, note on *heal*. WSG. p. 38 gives (peɐrz) ‘pears’.

56. Ellis thought (WSD.) that the words in list 27 (oɐ) had (o) for their first element as well as those in list 14 (oɐ). Murray (WSG.) also heard only one sound (oɐ). Elw. in his Wdb. gives (oɐ) exclusively.

Sometimes the first part is higher still and becomes (u). See § 57.

On the other hand the first element is sometimes even lower than (o), viz. (A). See Gloss. i. v. *roast*.

57. (uə) very often varies with (oo) and (ov). We find both (uə) and (oo) in *sull*; both (uə) and (ov) in *abroad*, *boat*, *cord*, *more*, *foam*, *forge*, *forth*, *moor*, *sort*, *toad*.

This shows that the (u) of (uə) often, if not always, approaches (u).

(uə) like (ov) is occasionally lowered to (Aə); see Gloss. i. v. *roast*, *toast*.

It is sometimes shortened: to (u) in *soap*; to (o) in *ghost*, *rope*; also in *above-board*, but in this case the shortening is probably due to weak stress.

58. Before final *l* and *r* the glide is so clear as to make a diphthong into a distinct triphthong. But medial *l* has no such influence; see § 61.

59. (əi) before *l* and *r* becomes (əiə).

60. (Eu) and (əu) before *l* become (Eue), (əue). Before *r* they seemed 'somewhat' different, viz. (aue).

61. (aai) before *l* and *r* becomes (aaie): *ail*, *rail*, *tail*. But (aai) in *ailment*, *railing*, *taylor* according to § 58.

62. Both (aaie) and (əie) are occasionally given in one word; see § 49.

III. Consonants.

63. The pronunciation of the consonants differs little from standard English. Only a few points require to be mentioned.

64. *L* is often velar; this explains the pronunciation of the vowels before *l*; see § 36 and § 42.

65. Initial *r* is often transcribed with (hr) but by no means regularly. The difference between the two is no doubt hardly appreciable.

66. On the articulation of (r) Murray makes the following interesting observations (WSG. p. 112): "The most striking feature in the pronunciation is the strongly pronounced 'cerebral' or reversed *r*, produced by turning the tip of the tongue back as far as possible into the hollow of the palate, and then imparting to the whole member as strong a vibration as it is

capable of in this position. The result is a dull, deep, vibrant sound, very distinct from the lip-trill of a Northern *r* on the one hand or the French and German *r* grasseyé on the other. It prevails all over the south of England, becoming less and less vibratory as we come from west to east. I heard it distinctly in the Isle of Wight from natives; and it is the undoubted progenitor of the vocalized *r* of London and literary English, which could never have arisen from the Northern tip-trill. In West-Somerset it is not only pronounced where it is historically present, whether medial or final as in (AArðər) *order*, but it is added to medial and final vowels in many words with equal distinctness, as in (faərshin) *fashion*, (vər) *he*, where it must be remembered that *r* is not a mere modification of the vowel but a true consonant.

67. The reversed position of the *r* also affects the pronunciation of consonants, chiefly *t*, *d*, *l*, and of the vowels that accompany it. The sound itself has so much vocal quality, and tends to begin with so deep a guttural vowel, that such words as *red*, *rich*, *run* are heard as (ʔrd, ʔrtsh, ʔrn), which ought almost as truly to be written rd, rtsh, rn or r rd etc., the succeeding short e, i, u being lost between the vibration of the *r* and the consonant”¹).

68. Peculiar to the southern English dialects are the voiced initial open consonants. In reality however the consonants are not completely voiced. The on-glide is always voiceless, and thus it is often difficult, esp. in quick speech to decide whether the sound is voiced or voiceless. On this question Ellis has a note (WSD. p. 69): “So far as I could make out, the words really began in all cases with (fv)” i. e. the on-glide was voiceless. Ellis compares the English finals as in his, pronounced (hizs) i. e. with voiceless off-glide. “But when much emphasis is laid on the word the hiss is driven out so sharp as to predominate, and hence the buzz is not observed, and (f, s, sh, th) alone are recognized.”

69. These observations explain how Elw. could in one place transcribe a word with (f), in another with (v). In the list of words with initial (f) he includes *fair*, *fine*, *flue*, which

1) Cp. *run* (ʔrn) with *tea-urn* (teerʔn); *groats* is pronounced (grʔts) and (gʔrts).

he declares to have both (f) and (v) on pp. 39, 62, 67 resp. of WSD. And *flame*, *flippant*, *front* included in the same list have (v) according to pp. 38, 55, 65. In the list for initial (v) he includes *fin*, *friend*, which he transcribed with (f) on pp. 41, 47.

70. What has been said of *f* also holds true of *s* and *sh*. Before voiceless cons. (s) is usually kept¹). Before *l* Elw. seems to hesitate between (s) and (z).

71. On the pronunciation of *k* and *g* before palatal consonants, see Ch. III § 379.

72. Initial *kl* is often pronounced (tl); see Ch. III § 380.

B. Accidence.

I. Verbs.

Inflections.

73. There are two classes of verbs: transitive and intransitive.

Any transitive verb may be made intransitive by adding (-i) to its stem. Thus the transitive verb (dig) becomes intransitive (digi).

Not all intransitive verbs are given with the ending (-i). The Wdb. gives no ending to *batter* 'slope inward', *go*, *love* 'be pleased', *smoulder* a. o. But the verb *to thaw*, transcribed (dhAA) in WSD., is pronounced (dhAA-i) according to Wdb. It is possible, therefore, that the omission of (-i) in the case of the other verbs is due to an oversight.

74. The endings of the different forms of the verb mostly agree with those of standard English.

The present tense ends in (s, z, ʋz) e. g. *dig* trans. is in all persons (digz), intrans. (digʋs). But very often the auxiliary *to do* is used (this is not an emphatic form as in lit. Eng.): (aai dʋ dig; aai dʋ digi).

1) But in the list of literary words used in the dialect (Wdb. p. 855 ff.) words beginning with *sc*, *sch*- are transcribed (z-sk). According to WSD. *sketch* had (zk-). Cp. also § 363.

In the Introduction to the Wdb. Elw. adds (p. XX and XXI) that the ending (-*vs*), used in all persons except the 2nd person sing., has a frequentative meaning: Her eats (*eetvs*) too vast by half. They chairmakus (*tshiermEkvs*) nif they can get it i.e. work at chairmaking.

In N. W. Somerset and N. Devon the ending of the present tense is (-*th*). This is also used 'throughout West Somerset, especially by old people', although there it is not the most usual form. And even in Devon and N. W. Somerset (-*th*) is beginning to be dropped in the plural. All Elw.'s examples are in the 3rd p. sing.

75. The imperative is identical with the infin., also for the verbs in (-*i*).

Peculiar are the imperatives (*in tɛ guu*) 'go in'; (*Eut tɛ gu*) 'go out'; (*AAp tɛ kAAm*) 'come up'; (*Eut tɛ kAAm*) 'come out'; (*baak tɛ kAAm*) 'come back'.

16. Both the present participle¹⁾ (with which the gerund is identical) and the past part. have the prefix (-*v*). Elw. says (WSG. p. 53) that the pref. of the past part. is "frequently omitted for euphony's sake after a short vowel". But on p. 58 of that book we find (*vs dhii jɛrd o ɛt?*) 'hast thou heard of it?', where it is omitted after long (*ii*). Elw. adds in a note that the pref. is dropped in rapid speech and that the sentence deliberately uttered would sound (*vs dhii vjɛrd o ɛt?*).

The latter rule seems more likely to be correct²⁾.

77. The preterite of all verbs is formed by adding (*d*) or (*t*), as in standard English:

(*lai—laid—v-laid*) 'to lie, to lay'.

(*Eɛ—Eɛd—v-Eɛd*) 'to have'.

(*kEtsh—kEtsht—vkEtsht*) 'to catch'.

78. Verbs ending in (*d*) or (*t*) have no ending:

(*wid—wid—vwid*) 'to weed'.

79. After a consonant final *d* or *t* is lost in the dialect before words beginning with a cons. See §§ 371, 377.

1) The ending is regularly (-*in*); for the cons. see § 339. Peculiar is the pronunciation (*gween*) 'going'.

2) The pref. is naturally not used when the past part. has become an adjective or is used as such. Cp. (*t-wɛz v dɛn dzhAAb vAAr-n*) 'it was a done job for him'.

Hence verbs ending in a cons. keep the ending of the pret. only before words beginning with a vowel¹). The pret. and past part. of (kEtsh) e. g. are (kEtsht—ɛkEtsht) if the following word begins with a vowel, but (kEtsh—ɛkEtsh) before a cons.²).

80. From the rule on final *d* and *t* (§ 78 f.) it follows that verbs ending in a cons. + *d* or *t* have two forms, which serve equally for the pret. and the present tense (but the present tense has its own ending, § 74).

(wAAnt, wAAAn) e. g. is the preterite of *want*.

The past part. is (ɛwAAnt, ɛwAAAn).

Cp. (ii wAAAn t-æ b-m) '*he wanted to have him*', but

(dzhæn wAAnt AAldhɛlAt) '*John wanted all the lot*'.

81. Verbs in (-n) occ. omit (*d*) before a vowel also: (iiv ɛspeen əvəri vaardn iiv ɛgAt) '*he has spent every farthing he has got*'.

82. Verbs like (vræsl, zædl, rækn, drætn, znaardl) are dissyllabic and should always keep the ending, like the verbs in (-r), but in rapid speech (*d*) is often dropped before cons.

83. According to Elw. all verbs ending in a cons. may have the ending (ɛd) instead of (*d*) when they are used emphatically: (bEɛk, bEɛkɛd) '*to bake*'. The form is "quite common in the Hill district of W. Som. for verbs ending in *k, g, t, d, p, b, v*".

84. It is very difficult to account for this; there seems no reason why these verbs should not have (*d*) or (*t*) in the pret. and past part., unless the dialect of the Hill-district differs from that of the Vale.

Perhaps the forms are used because before consonants the ending (*t, d*) is dropped.

The ending (ɛd) seems to be specially used for intrans. verbs (which have -i in the infin.)³). The trans. verb. *weave* e. g. has the forms (weev) pret. (woovd); if intrans. the forms are (weevi), (woovɛd).

1) (*r*) is not treated as a cons. Hence (jɛrd, ɛjɛrd) before cons. as well as before vowels.

2) Occ. the cons. seems to be lost even before vowels: at least WSG. p. 58 gives (ɛwɛrk aard ɛnɛf) '*worked hard enough*'; p. 59: (dhee-d ɛlAAs AAldhɛr tɛlz) '*they had lost all their tools*'.

3) Once (WSG. p. 25) another form occurs: (vAAlid) '*followed*'.

85. Some verbs, in addition to their consonantal ending, have vowel-change e. g.

(stEel—stoold—estooled) ‘to steal’.

See Chapter III.

86. The other tenses are formed by means of the same auxiliary verbs as in standard English.

TO BE.

Present Tense.

Affirmatively:		Affirmatively with not:	
Sing.	ai ¹⁾ bi	ai	bEen
	dhi aart, rt	dhi	aart-n
	$\left. \begin{matrix} ee \\ \text{Ær} \end{matrix} \right\} z$	$\left. \begin{matrix} e \\ \text{Ær} \end{matrix} \right\}$	$\left. \begin{matrix} id-n \\ Ed-n \end{matrix} \right\}$
Plural	$\left. \begin{matrix} wi \\ jy \\ dhe \end{matrix} \right\} \begin{matrix} bi, \\ m \end{matrix}$	$\left. \begin{matrix} wi \\ jy \\ dhe \end{matrix} \right\}$	$\left. \begin{matrix} bEen \end{matrix} \right\}$
Interrogatively:		Interrogatively with not:	
Sing.	bi ai	bEen	ai, is
	ert dhi	art-n	dhi
	ez er	Ed-n	er
Plural	$\left. \begin{matrix} \\ bi \end{matrix} \right\} \begin{matrix} wi \\ jy \\ dhe \end{matrix}$	bEen	$\left. \begin{matrix} wii, \text{Æs} \\ jy \\ dhee, em \end{matrix} \right\}$

Past Tense.

Affirmatively:		Affirmatively with not:	
All persons : wəz		All persons : wAd-n	
except : dhi wəst		except : dhi wəs-n	
dhi wÆz			
Interrogatively:		Interrogatively with not:	
All persons : wəz		All persons : wAAd-n.	
except : wəz dhi		except : wAs-n dhi	
wÆrt dhi		wəs-n dhi	
Infinitive : bii, bi.		Past part. ebin, ebi ²⁾ .	

1) For the pronouns see §§ 134 ff.

2) (ebi) is used in the ‘Hill district’ of W. Som., which has naturally preserved the dialect purer than the ‘Vale district’.

TO HAVE.

Present Tense.

	Affirmatively:	Affirmatively with not
Sing.	$\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{ai } v \\ \text{dhi } s \\ \text{ii} \\ \text{Ær} \end{array} \right\} \text{dh, } v$	$\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{ai } \text{aan} \\ \text{dhi } \text{æs-n} \\ \text{i, } e \\ \text{Ær} \end{array} \right\} \text{aan, aath-n}$
Plural	$\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{wii} \\ \text{jy} \\ \text{dhee} \end{array} \right\} v$	$\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{wi} \\ \text{jy} \\ \text{dhe} \end{array} \right\} \text{aan}$

	Interrogatively:	Interrogatively wit not:
All persons :	æv	aan
except :	æs dhi	æs-n

Past Tense.

	Affirmatively:	Affirmatively with not:
All persons :	æd, d	æd-n
except :	dhi æds	dhi æds-n
	dhi ds	
	Interrogatively:	Interrogatively with not:
All persons :	æd	æd-n
except :	æds dhi	æds-n dhi
Infinitive :	Eæ, aav.	Past part. : æ-Eæd.

SHALL.

The use of *shall* and *will* agrees with standard English, as spoken in the South.

Present Tense.

	Affirmatively:	Affirmatively with not:
All persons :	shaal, shl	shaan
except :	dhi shEt	dhi shEt-n
	dhi shæt	
	Interrogatively:	Interrogatively with not:
All persons :	shaal, shl	shaan
except :	shEt dhi	shEt-n dhi

Past tense.

Affirmatively:	Affirmatively with not:
All persons : shæd, shəd	All persons : shəd-n
except : dhi shæds	except : dhi shæds-n
Interrogatively:	Interrogatively with not:
All persons : shæəd, shəd	All persons : shəd-n
except : shæds dhi	except : shæds-n dhi.

WILL.

Present Tense.

Affirmatively:	Affirmatively with not:
All persons : wul, ʋl, l	All persons : o-n
except : dhi wæt	except : dhi wæt-n
dhiælt	
Interrogatively:	Interrogatively with not:
All persons : wul, ʋl,	All persons : o-n
ʋl	except : wæt-n dhi
except : wæt dhi	

Past Tense.

Affirmatively:	Affirmatively with not:
All persons : d	All persons : wəd-n
except : dhii t	except : dhi wəts-n
dhii ts	
Interrogatively:	Interrogatively with not:
All persons : wəd	All persons : wəd-n
except : wəds dhi	except : wəts-n dhi

TO DO.

Present Tense.

Affirmatively ¹⁾ :	Affirmatively with not:
All persons : dæ	All persons : doən
except : dhi dæs	except : dhi dæs-n
Interrogatively:	Interrogatively with not:
All persons : dyɣ, dæ	All persons : doon
except : dæs dhi	except : dæs-n dhi

1) See § 74.

Past Tense.

Affirmatively:	Affirmatively with not:
<i>Not used as an auxiliary verb.</i>	All persons : dEd-n
	except : dhi dEds-n

Interrogatively:	Interrogatively with not:
All persons : dEd	All persons : dEd-n
except : dEds dhi	except : dEds-n

87. Sometimes the principal verb is inflected instead of the auxiliary verb. Compare e. g. (aai læt-n nood hAt i d vɜgAt tɜ dyy) '*I let (pret.) him know what he had got to do*'; in the same manner : I let 'n *zeed* the house to once. — I let her had 'n. Also with the auxiliary *help* : (dhv ool tAm aalweez faadhv, jv noo, zɜr, ʔlp drood vɜn) '*the old Tom Always's father, you know, sir, helped to throw (i. e. fell) it*'; also: I help loaded the cart, for *I helped to load the cart*. (compare: I mind help loading the cart, for *I remember helping to load the cart*).

II. Nouns.

Gender.

88. Words denoting persons have masc. or fem. gender (i. e. he or she is used) according to sex. But see § 89. All other class-nouns are masculine:

(dhEvr nɔu dhi-s vɜtord dhv pɜtshv. No aai aant, i-z ʔni krEɜz) '*There now thou (thee) hast broken the pitcher. No, I haven 't, he is only cracked*'. Also (wʔl nif t-ez v zɔu, i vl git AAn) '*well, if it is a sow, he will get on (i. e. fat)*'¹).

89. Occasionally the masc. pronoun is even used when referring to a woman: (ʔr-z v maain gʔrt strAAng maaid, ee eez) '*she is a very strong girl, he is*'.

90. All abstract and material nouns are neuter.

Genitive.

91. The genitive is formed by adding (s, z, ez) acc. to the same rules as in standard English.

1) But Wdb. s. v. *barren* : (wul jy wAArn vɜr baarin?) '*Will you warrant her (i. e. the cow) barren?*'.

92. The periphrastic form with *of* is sometimes used for persons also. In that case however it implies inferiority or disrespect: (dhu faadhur o en).

Proper names cannot take the form with *of*. Always (dzhaaks eed) '*Jack's head*'.

Plural.

93. The plural is formed by adding (s, z, ez) to the sing.: (raat, raats) '*rat*'; (pee, peez) '*pea*'; (rəb, rəbz) '*rib*'; (fEəs, fEəsez) '*face*'.

94. Nouns ending in stressed (l) have (z): (vəəl, vəəlz) '*fool*'. But if the (l) is unstressed the plur. takes (s): (ænvəl, ænvəls) '*handful*'.

95. Nouns ending in a hissing-sound + *t* or *k* take (ez): (vrAAst, vrAAstez) '*frost*'; (kaask, kaaskez) '*cask*'. The latter however also has a plur. (kaasez), from the sing. (kaas), as the word is pronounced before a cons.

96. Nouns in *-f* and *-fe* which in standard English have a plur. in *-ves* (*calf*, *life* etc.) have levelled their forms in the dialect: those in *-lf* under (*-lf*), the others under (*v*).

97. Nouns ending in a long vowel or a diphthong + (th) do not voice their final cons. and have consequently (s). Only words in (*-aath*) have a plur. (*-aaz*) by the side of (*-aaths*).

98. Nouns in *st* have sometimes a double plural ending:

(biəst); plur. (biəstesz, biəstezez) '*beast*';

(brist); „ (bristesz, bristezez) '*breast*';

(krist); „ (kristesz, kristezez) '*crust*';

(vəist); „ (vəistesz, vəistezez) '*fist*'.

99. This double plural is also often used with collectives that have a plural form:

(bƏlis); plur. (bƏlisez) '*bellows*';

(brændis); „ (brændisez) '*brandees*';

(tAngz); „ (tAngzez) '*tongs*'.

Also (stEpsez) '*pair of steps, step-ladder*'.

100. It seems that the double plural is specially used where the single ending denotes a collective f. i. (bristesz, vəistesz), perhaps also (biəstesz).

Cp. (beləsəz, galəsəz, stepsəz) in the dialect of Windhill (Wright § 338).

101. Of other plural-endings there are only a few remnants.

(-n) is still used in (AAksn) 'oxen'¹); (tshəlɜrn) 'children'; (vrEksn) 'rushes'. Moreover (tshikin) is considered as a plur.: hence the sing. (tshik).

102. Obsolete are (əin) 'eyes'; (shyn) 'shoes'; (oozn) 'hose', (aksn) 'ashes'.

103. (-r) is only found in (tshəlɜr), which is the pure dialect form; (tshəlɜrn) is an adaptation of the standard form and used by "people of some education".

104. Of the old mutation-plurals the following are left²):

mEɜn, plur. meen; ʔmɜn, plur. wumɜn.

məuz, " məis; tædh, " teedh.

ləus } " ləis; vət, " vit.

lEus } " gæz, " giiz.

Nouns of measure.

105. Nouns denoting a measure are used in the sing. after numerals:

(wAAɜn tɜ neen pEun) 'one to nine pounds'.

106. But if these nouns are used as "ordinary words" (i. e. not as numerals) they take the plur. form:

(aai-v ɜziid ʔndidz o-m) 'I have seen hundreds of them'.

(t-l kAAɜs skoorz v pEunz) 'It will cost scores of pounds'.

(ɜr wAd-n ʔni bɜ dri ɜn tweenti jʔr ool, hAn i dæid; bɜd ɜr bɜn maarid ɜgiɜn ɜz jʔrz) 'she was but twenty-three years old when he died; but she has been married again for years'.

107. According to WSG. 'nouns denoting a variable measure' have the plural after numerals: *bag* means sometimes three bushels, but it is also a measure of weight (a bag of potatoes = 160 lbs., a bag of apples = 120 lbs.); it is, therefore, put in the plural after numerals. WSG. also instances *firkin*, but from the Wdb. we learn that *firkin* is not a noun of measure at all, but the name of 'a small keg in which labourers carry their daily allowance of cider'; there are 'dree-

1) Wdb. p. XLI gives *oxens*, not *oxen* as the plural, and also *rexens*.

2) The old plural *kee* 'cows', which is still found in Exm. Sc. (l. 110) has become obsolete.

quart, vower-quart virkins' according to capacity. It is, therefore, likely that also *bag* is put in the plural after numerals, not because it denotes 'a variable measure', but because it is not felt to be a name of a measure at all.

Compounds in *-ful* also take the regular plur., no doubt for the same reason.

108. *Inch* and *month* have the plur. form (ənshez, mɛns) after numerals:

(t-wɛz twɛl mɛns ʊgAAɪn vəl AAɪp) 'It was fully twelve months ago'.

Collectives.

109. Any noun may be used in the plural without the plur. form, if the plur. is taken in a collective sense, or even in a not-clearly-individual sense:

(ʊ mənɪ ɛlɪm bi gwaɪn tɜ dro?) 'How many elms are you going to fell?'.

(dhɜ vrAAs-l dy gæd, t-l tshek dhɜ bɛd) 'The frost will do good, it will check the buds'.

(bɛud ʊ fiiti pəɪp) 'About fifty pipes'¹).

(dɜr wɛz a səɪt ʊ biəs tɜ fɛr) 'There were a great many bullocks at the fair'; but compare

(av i ziɪd dri biəstɛz gwaɪn ɛlAAɪŋg?) 'Have you seen three oxen going along?'²).

110. Elw. specially mentions (ship) 'sheep'; (diər) 'deer'; (grɛus) 'grouse'; (pɛr) 'pair'; (pəɪp) 'drawing-pipe'; (snəɪp) 'snipe' as having invariably the sing. form.

Pair is a noun of measure, see §§ 105 ff. On the others see Chapter III §§ 464 f.

111. *Broth* has always a plur. verb.³) Cp. the dialect of Windhill where *porridge* has always, *broth* frequently a plur. verb (Wright § 338).

1) (ʊ) before numerals denotes indefiniteness. Cp. *a few*, *a great many* and see NED. i. v. A. adj.² 2.

2) Also (biəstezez); see §§ 98 ff.

3) It is also preceded by *few* instead of *little*. Elw. Wdb. s. v. *few* says: This use (of *few* before *broth*) seems wide-spread. See Brockett, Northumberland Glossary.

III. Adjectives.

Degrees of Comparison.

112. All adjectives form their degrees of comparison by adding (-*er*, -*ist*).

Those ending in (-*l*, -*m*, -*n*) add (*d_{er}*, *dist*).

113. Adj. ending in (-*ng*) have (-*ng-g_{er}*, -*ng-gist*). When -*ng* is unstressed it becomes (-*n*) and these adj. compare regularly.

Cp. (*lAAng*, *lAAng-g_{er}*, *lAAng-gist*) '*long*'.

(*kEtshin*, *kEtshin_{er}*, *kEtshinist*) '*catching*'.

114. Adj. in -*nt* form their superl. by changing -*nt* into (-*ns*):
(*dh_e Eligens klooz*) '*the most elegant clothes*'.

115. *More* and *most* (*mu_{er}*, *mu_{is}*) are sometimes used, but only pleonastically:

(*mu_{er} ændi_{er}*) '*handier*'; (*mu_{is} fælishis*) '*most foolish*'.

116. Irregular are the degrees of comparison of (*gæd*, *bædr*; *bæst*); (*bE_{ed}*; *wəs*, *wə_{er}*; *wəst*, *wəstist*); (*mAtsh*, *məni*; *mu_{er}*; *mu_{is}*, *mAAs*).

Material Adjectives.

117. Material adj. are "almost invariably" formed from nouns by adding (-*n*, -*en*):

(*təm_{ern} əp*) '*wooden hoop*'; (*glaasen dzh_{Ēg}*) '*glass jug*'; (*weetn breed*) '*wheaten bread*'.

118. Nouns in (-*n*, -*m*) have the suffix (-*in*):

(*El_{em}in kAAfin*) '*elm coffin*'; (*əi_{ern}in beed-steed*) '*iron bedstead*'.

IV. Adverbs.

119. Adverbs are formed from adjectives by adding (-*l_{oik}*).

Also *lively* forms an adv.: (*ləivlil_{oik}*). The same for other adj. in -*ly*, see § 121.

120. Sometimes the suffix is separated from its stem by the verb which is qualified by the adv.: (*dhee-v _e p_Ērdi ni_{er} vdyd l_{oik}*) '*They have pretty nearly done*'.

Comparison.

121. The suffixes are (-*er*, -*is*), which are added before the ending (-*l_{oik}*):

(*AArd_{er}lil_{oik}*, *AArd_{er}li_{er}l_{oik}*, *AArd_{er}li-isl_{oik}*¹).

1) Compare (*b_Ēd oof l_{oik}*) '*badly off*'.

122. *More* and *most* are often added pleonastically.
See § 115.

V. Numerals.

123. The forms of the numerals are as follows:

Cardinals.	Ordinals.
wAAAn, wæn	fÆs(t)
ty	sækæn
dri	thƆrd
vauƆr	fauƆrth
veev, vœiv	fiith
ziks	zEkst
zæbm	zæbmt
aait	ait-th
neen	neenth
teen	teenth
læbm	læbmth
twƆlv	twƆlth
dhƆrtin	dhƆrtinth
vuertin	vuertinth
viiftin	viiftinth
zikstin	zikstinth
zæbmtin	zæbmtinth
aaitin	aaitinth
neentin	neentinth
tweenti	tweentieth;

21 (wAn Ɔn tweenti) etc. Never twenty-one. 30 (thƆrti); 40 farti, fAArti; 50 fiiti; 60 (sEksti); 70 (zæbmti); 80 (aaiti); 90 (neenti); 100 (Ɔndid); 101 (Ɔndid-n wAAAn) etc.; 1000 (thœuzn, dhœuzn); 1 000 000 (mƆljœn).

The ordinals from 20—100 are formed by adding (-Ɔth); from *hundred* to *million* (-th) is added.

124. Remarkable are:

(lAAng Ɔndid) = 120; and the use of (skoor) = 20. Cp. (skoor-n aaf) or (skoor-n teen) = 30; (ty skoor) = 40 etc.

125. Fractions:

$\frac{1}{2}$ = Ɔ aaf; $\frac{1}{4}$ = (Ɔ kwAArtœr).

$\frac{1}{3}$ = (wAn pƆœrt Eut Ɔ dri).

$\frac{2}{3}$ = (ty pƆœrts Eut Ɔ dri).

$\frac{1}{4}$ = (wAn pEert Eut ɐ vauer).

$\frac{3}{4}$ = (dri pEerts Eut ɐ vauer),

never (dri kwAArtɛrz) which would mean *three quarters* (of an apple etc.).

VI. Articles.

126. The indefinite article is (ɐ), also before vowels.

127. The definite article is (dhɐ) before cons., (dh) before vowels. Used emphatically it is (dhee). 'To the' becomes (t) before a vowel, (tɐ) before a cons.: (in t-Euz) 'into the house'; (tɐ fEɛr) 'at the fair'.

128. The def. art. is always used before proper names qualified by an adj.: *tha young Josy Heaffield* (Exm. Scold. line 13); *the young Dick Vrogwill* (ib. line 31); in a note to these lines Elworthy says that the art. is still used here.

VII. Pronouns.

Demonstrative Pronouns.

129. There are two classes of demonstrative pron. Elw. distinguishes them as definite and indefinite. The def. forms are used before class-nouns, the indef. forms before other nouns. But see § 133.

130. The forms of 'this' are as follows:

Singular		Plural
Definite	Indefinite	
ɛz, z, Es		ɛz, z, s
dhɛz	dhəs	dheezjɛr
dhɛzjɛr	dhəsjɛr	dhæzjɛr
dhɛzhjɛr	dhəshjɛr	

131. The forms of 'that' are as follows:

Singular		Plural
Definite	Indefinite	
dhɪk, dhɪkdhEɛr	dhat	dhee
dhɪki, dhɪkidhEɛr	dhatdhEɛr	dheedhEɛr ¹⁾ .

1) WSD. p. 23 gives (dhuɐz), which is probably a dialectal pronunciation of literary *those*.

132. (vz)¹⁾ is used before nouns denoting time, to show that the period extends to the present. Hence it is used when the verb is in the perfect tense: (aai aan vziid-n vz wik) 'I have not seen him for a week' literally 'this week'²⁾.

133. When 'this', 'that' are used, not as demonstratives but to refer to something mentioned before, or to be mentioned in the same sentence (dhəs, dhat, dhat-dhEər), are also used before class-nouns:

(aav i ziid dhatdhEər neev o mǝin?) 'Have you seen that knife of mine?'

(yyz AAs ez dhat?) 'Whose horse is that?'

(yyz bæts ez dhat?) 'Whose boots are those?'

(ez dhatdhEər joər tshələrn?) 'Are those your children?'

Personal Pronouns.

134. The personal pronouns have varying forms.

The nominative has four:

1. emphatic as the subject of a sentence.
2. unemphatic idem.
3. in interrogative sentences³⁾; when two forms are given, the second is used in questions, repeating the subject (e. g. I am going, am I not?).
4. 'unconnected' i. e. absolute.

135. The objective has two forms:

1. unemphatic, the usual form.
2. emphatic, used after prepositions.

136. The forms are

FIRST PERSON.

	Singular	Plural
Nomin.	1. aai, aa	1. wii
	2. ai, a, v	2. wi
	3. ər, is	3. əs; ər, is
	4. mi	4. Ǝs

1) The pronunciation (Es) occurs in WSD. p. 15.

2) (vz) is not used when 'this week', 'this year' etc. mean 'the current week, year'. Cp. (aai aan vziid-n dhivz wik) 'I have not seen him this week' i. e. since Sunday; (mEvs bi tƎrbl pleenti di jƎr) 'Acorns are very plentiful this year'.

3) In interrogative sentences the forms under n° 2 may also be used.

Object.	{	1. mi, mɐ	1. ɐs, s
		2. mi, aai	2. wi, ʔs.

SECOND PERSON.

	Singular	Plural
Nomin.	1. dhii	1. jy, jɐ, i
	2. dhi	2. i, jy.
	3. dhi	3. i; i, ɐr
	4. dhii	4. jy
Object.	1. dhi, dhɐ	1. i
	2. dhii	2. jy.

THIRD PERSON.

	Singular			Plural
	Masc.	Fem.	Neut.	
Nomin.	1. ii, ee	ʔr	— ¹⁾	dhe
	2. i, e, ɐ	ɐr, ɐ	t, ɐt	dhe
	3. ɐ, ɐr		ɐt	ɐm
	4. ii	ʔr	— ¹⁾	dhe
Object.	1. ɐn, n, m	ɐr	ɐt	ɐm, m
	2. ii	shii	— ¹⁾	dhe

137. Instances:

a) Nominative. 1. 2. (aal git-n vAAr-i, ai wul) ('*I'll get it for you, I will*').

3. (aai kn æb-m, kaan is?) '*I can have it, cannot I?*'; (bi gwaain, bEɐn is?). '*I am going, am I not?*';

(kæəd-n dy ɐt, kæəd n ɐr?) '*One could not do it, could not one?*'

(shl ɐr zeen vAAr-n?) '*Shall I send for it?*'; (mʔsn ɐr guu? '*Must not I go?*'

4. (t-wAAd-n mi, t-wɐz ii) '*It was not I, it was he*'.

b) Objective. 1. (gi ɐn ɐz mʔni) '*Give him his money*'.

2. (ʔr dedn ze noɐrt tɐ ii) '*She did not say anything to him*'. (ɐr gid-n tɐ shii) '*She gave it to her*'.

138. The objective (aai) is rarely used: (gi aai dhik) '*Give me that*'.

1) The emphasis is always thrown on the preposition or the verb.

Possessive Pronouns.

139. The possessive pronouns have two forms, one emphatic, the other unemphatic. The forms are

FIRST PERSON.			SECOND PERSON.	
	Sing.	Plur.	Sing.	Plur.
emph.:	mai	auer	dhai	joer, jy
unemph.:	mi, mi	dhi, dhi	jer, i.

THIRD PERSON.

	Singular.		Plural.
	Masc.	fem.	
emph.:	iz	Er	dhEer
unemph.:	ez, s, z	er	dher.

140. In the Exmoor district (also in North-Devon) the unemphatic forms of the first and second person are occasionally (mæ, dhæ).

141. The absolute possessives are main; dhain; iz, Erz; auerz; joerz; dhEerz.

Interrogative Pronouns.

142. The interrogative pronouns are (y) 'who, whom'; (witsh) 'which'; (wAAAt, hAt) 'what'.

Reflexive Pronouns.

143. The reflexive pronouns are compounds of the possessives and (zEl), plur. (zElz).

The forms are therefore

emph.:	maizEl	Plur.	auerzElz	dhazEl	Plur.	joerzElz
unemph.:	mizEl		erzElz	dhizEl		jerzElz.
emph.:	iizzEl		ErzEl	Plur.	dhEerzElz	
unemph.:	ezzEl		erzEl		dherzElz.	

144. Occasionally the plural ends in (zEl).

Relative Pronouns.

145. The relative pronouns are (dhæt), (wAt, hAt)¹.

146. (wAt) is used for lit. *who, which, that*. (dhæt) may always be used for (wAt), i. e. also in continuative clauses.

1) In 'I do not know which it is' (doono witsh t-eez) *which* is of course not a rel. pron.

The possessive *whose* is never used and replaced by a different construction, e. g. *the man whose house was burnt lives here*: (dhə mEən wAtəd ɛgAət ez Euz ɛbɛrnd də liiv jɛr).

Indefinite Pronouns.

147. *None* is (nuən).

No is (nɛdhər) before sing. class-nouns, (no) in all other cases.

148. In the same way *any* is (ɛdhər) before sing. class-nouns, in all other cases (əni).

149. Instances: (nɛdhər kœt; nɛdhər beed), but (no wAAdr; no zaalt; no shyzz). (æs ɛziid ɛdhər kEu kAAmin AAn?) ‘*Have you seen any cow coming on?*’. (deds mit əni ship?) would refer to the plur., (ɛdhər ship) to the sing.

150. *Enough* is (ɛnɛf, ɛnəə). The latter form is used when following the word it qualifies, e. g. (meet ɛnəə) and when used substantively.

CHAPTER II.

The ME. equivalents of the present vowels and diphthongs.

(æ)

151. (æ) is found for

1. ME. a : *Abner*¹⁾, cabbage *navigate*, *navvy*, *savage*, fathom, marsh, hast, cat, slate, scad, addle, saddle, barrow, marrow, can, fan, van, *wan*, *swan*, hand, sand, land, brand, stand, strand, plant, *want*, brandise, Candlemas, handle, flannel, spaniel, scandal, *portmanteau*, haunch, *plank*, stanch, danger, (*arch*)*angel*, flange, stranger, *fancical*, flag, *hawthorn*, baggage, angry, fang, hang, thank, *pant*, *handkerchief*, flank, angle, new-fangled, jangle, mangle, tangle.

Also in *make?*, *wrestle?*

2. ME. e : except, September, left, eleven, seven, seventy, fether, *earth*, weather, *methodist*, bless, guess, less, mess, yes, dress, press, distress, cess, princess, assess, lesson, present, best, nest, west, rest, test, (*in*)*digestion*, vest, fester, *inquest*, edge, hedge, hedger, ledge, sedge, sledge, dredge, stretch, fetch, settle, setter, better, bet, let, wet, whet, indebted, letter, retinue, lettuce, *reticule*, already, Frederick, drench, French, *stench*, trench, wrench, celery, neck, peck, wreck, freckle, speculate, necklace, reckon, second, affected, correct, breakfast, election, lecture, next, text, vex, beg(gar), keg, peg.

3. ME. ē, later ě : *leave*, breath, death, breadth, threat(en), spread, thread.

4. ME. e varying with i : *sprinkle*, *spit*.

5. ME. i in Nicholas, *thistle*.

1) The italic type refers to the Glossary (see Introduction p. 4).

6. ME. ai in says, said.

7. ME. o, which may have resulted from older \bar{o} : stop, knot(ted), plot, rob, robin, rod.

8. ME. u? : *scud*, *amongst*.

9. In *one*.

(aa).

152. (aa) is found for

1. ME. a : ah, baa, cap, captain, *capital*, rapid, flap-dock, hoard-apples, champ, lamb, shambling, ambergris, damn, *amen*, champion, staff, lath, after, carpentry, snaffle, have, slaver, cravat, traverse, *clavel*, *bathe*, father, clash, dash, gash, lash, sash, smash, trash, harsh, gas, passage, past, fast, vast, blast, last, mast, ghastly, cast, pasture, flask, task, bat, fat, hat, latter-end, mat, rat, sprat, mattress, anatomy, aunt, chance, dance, lance, cannot, have not (has not), advantage, all, ball, fall, small, wall, crawl, squall, scrawl, Alfred, bald, malt, maltster, salter, halter, calf, half, valve, cavalry, parlour, *hazel*, false, ballot, palace, salad, mallow, shallow, tallow, valet, value, gallopers, mallard, car, snarl, warm, hard, armpit, arch, fashionable, architect, massacred, parcel, parsnip, arsenic, art, article, card, guard, cart, dart, marble, market, artist, carcase, character, carraway-seed, carry, arable, parable, *harvest*, arrow, farrow, sparrow, back, clack, crack, slack, track, tract, pack, sack, contract, active, *actually*, hackney, bracket, jacket, racket, fag, faggot. Also in farewell, *slate*, *wrestle*; *stretcher*?

2. ME. e before r + cons. : herb, verb, superb, serpent, *vermin*, farmer, barm, sermon, serve, servant, nerve, reserve, starve, observe, *ash*, *nesh*, *flesh*, serge, verge, clergy, mercy, parson, mercer, search, certain, partridge, open-hearted, spectacles, heart, fart, yard, verdigris, farthing, farther, far, concerning, yearling, errand, harrow; also in earnest, learn(ing).

3. ME. e : *fresh*, *refreshment*, *ejectment*; also in *beetle*? see 4.

4. ME. i : hit, auricula, beetle 'mallet', (slaat) 'strike'¹).

5. ME. o : loft, cloth, plot, rot, trot, *clod*, plod, knock.

6. ME. u in furrow.

1) See the Glossary s. v. slat.

7. ME. au : saw, sawpit, sawyer, safe, safety, drewed (pret. of draw), jaundice, sauce, saucy, tea-saucer.

8. ME. ou : *brought, daughter*.

9. In *faith, claw*.

(a).

153. (a) is found for

1. ME. a : hap, happen, flap, flap-dock, rap, clap, snap, slap, scrap, trap, wrap, gap, perhaps, clasp, hasp, ramble, *emmet*, scramble, family, damage, chamois, *camel*, scaffold, snaffle, navigate, gravel, travel, thatch, clat, catkins, Saturday, Candlemas, ancient, angel, call, gall, gallow, sallow, balance, ballard, aloes, *guarantee*, farrier, *paddock*, farrow, marriage, *argue*, attack, fact, factory, *quack*, ask, *ashes*, traction, attraction, fraction, fractious, cackle, tackle, sacrament, maggot, *bayonet*, waggon, entanglement. Also in *navel, gape*.

2. ME. a, varying with e : *step, wretched, vetches, threshold*.

3. ME. e : *digested*.

4. ME. i : *knitch, spittle*.

5. ME. o : crop, drop, strop, *clot*, plot, rotted, Molly, morrow, forty.

6. In *claw*.

(E).

154. (E) is found for

1. ME. i : drift, sift, shifter, stiff, difference, pith, hither, thither, whither, miss, amiss, lithesome, cistern, list, mist, mistrust, sister, fidgit, fit, teat, bitter, litter, victuals, width, midst, did, 't is not, flint, hint, mint, lint, stint, clench, pyramid, wilt, prick, pickle, prickle, trickle, Nicholas, liquid, fix, mix, betwixt, sixth, ping.

2. ME. e or shortened ē : deceptive, heifer, clefted, eleven, heaven, devil, seven, empty, temperance, hearth, heath, worth, wreath, *molest*, cess, hearse, worst, fledged, fret, heat, sweat, *meddle*, forehead, tenant, tenon, *yolk*, eel, forbear, breakfast, object, project. Also in *touchy*.

3. ME. e or a : *gather, catch, aslant, shalt, axe, wax, flax*.

4. ME. a : *rafter*; a or ā? in *make, patient, plaster*; ME. au in *draught*.

5. ME. ai : says, said.
6. ME. o : clot, dot; ME. \bar{o} in *oats*.
7. ME. u or \bar{u} : dull, dowlas, skulk, sultry, multitude, vulgar.
8. In *sleft*.
The Wdb. gives (e) in *eft*.

(ee).

155. (ee) is found for

1. ME. \bar{e}

a) where all OE. dialects had \bar{a} or $\bar{e}a$: flea, leap, dream, scream, stream, steam, seaman, leave, wreath, tease, east, least, each, bleach, reach, teach, neatherd, seat, wheat, bread, head, dead, lead, mislead, mean, means.

b) where in OE. the westsaxon dialects had \bar{a} , the non-ws. usually \bar{e} : sleep, evening, cleave, breathe, leech, speech, street, dread, read, *bleak* 'to bleat'.

2. ME. \hat{e} , corresponding with OE. e and with French e, ei and ai : idea, pea, plea, tea, cream, ream, even, heave, weave, receive, cease, decease, feast, decency, decent, grease, lease, peace, ease, please, seize, reason, season, treason, desert s., leash, seizure, breach, peach, preach, feature, alledge, eat, meat, neat, complete, cheat, meter, deceit, receipt, bead, *inobedient*, bedstead, tread, glean, wean, mean adj., hyena, ceiling, speak, equal, secret, eager, agreeable.

For (ee) in prefixes see Ch. III § 397.

3. ME. \bar{e} : bee, flee, he, fever, believe, teeth, priest, beseech, heedless, forbid, reel.

4. ME. e

a) before -n, -nd, -nt, -ns : den, men, bend, spend, sent, spent, fence, sense. Also in *end*.

b) in hem, hemp, tempt, bed(ding), wed(ding), present, egg, *crease*.

5. ME. i or \bar{e} : evil, these.

6. ME. i

a) in the combination -ight : light, night, fight, sight, slight, benighted, lightning.

b) in *with*, is, china, blind, pig.

7. ME. \bar{i} in dive, drive, five, knife, ambergris, verdigris, nice, *lies*, size, bite, lining, nine.

8. ME. ai, ei in day, lay, say, way, away, runaway, they, plaintiff.

9. In *lea*, *sleigh*, *haver*, *key*, *quoin*, *weak*, *reap* s.

(ii).

156. (ii) is found for

1. ME. ē (OE. ē, ēo, also where ws. had īe, ū) : be, fee, free, gee, he, me, see, three, fly s. and v., depth, agreement, thou hast (i. e. thee 'st), fleece, *beestings*, freeze, geese, reed, agreed, bid, forbid, *smeech*.

2. ME. ē or ē̄ : *sheaf*, *sheath*.

3. ME. ē̄ : *deaf*, *leaf*, *beam*, *shred*, *snead*, *steen*.

ME. ê : *instead*.

4. ME. é : teen, end, butt-end, latter-end, *cresses*.

5. ME. i : hip, hymn, implement, if, *stiffen*, gifted, cliff, forgive, live, sieve, *fifth*, dish, fish, wish, kiss, grist, his, bitch, ditch, itch, rich, pitch, pitchy, stitch, *couch*, witch, kit, skit, wit, writ, splitter, acquittance, cud, eyelid, little, widow, thin, kin, sin, bin, chin, fin, shin, skin, pin, spin, tin, twin, into, wind, kindred, hinder, window, inland, *hinge*, hill.

6. ME. ī : stifle, oblige, shine, nice.

(i).

157. (i) is found for

1. ME. ē : be, ye, keep(er), deep, sweep, neap, thief, peace, feet, fleet, sweet, sheet, speed. Also *smeech*.

2. ME. ē or ē̄ : sheep, cheap.

3. ME. ē̄ : *heap*.

4. ME. i : winter, screech, which, *knitch*, grist, *impudent*, *impudence*, inkling. Also in night, meecher.

5. ME. ī : white, kite, alike, peep.

(AA).

158. (AA) is found for

1. ME. o : pop, prop, slop, sop, top, gob, job, mob, knob, fob, Bob, slobber, from, comical, compass, compound, comfort, doff, coffee, offal, office, coffin, unprofitable, moth, broth, dross, lose, lost, toss, cross, gloss, gross, frost, post, lodge, cot, dot, spot, scot, blot, slot, snot, pot, rot, nod, God, odd, pod, bond, pond, honest, con- (in contract, contrary etc.), loll, *noddle*,

follow, hollow, choller 'jaw', collar, scholar, solid, frolick, or, for, fork, horse, former, hornet, torture, morsel, orchard, organ, borrow, sorry, horrid, forrage, oracle, crock, flock, smock, locket, pocket, rocket, socket, fox, dog, frog, long, song, *prong*, wrong. Also in bottle, (vAAAt) 'fetched'.

2. ME. \bar{o} , shortened to o : soft, mother, blossom, rod, shot.

3. ME. \bar{o} , \hat{o} , which in many cases were clearly first shortened to o : lo, no, blow, crow, flow, low, owe, *eaves*, proper, loth, froth, most, almost, *poach(er)*, roast, groat, hot, inroad, only, ago, coal, lord, borer. Also in *once*, *one*.

4. ME. o or ou : though, ought, sloth, forty, fortnight.

5. ME. a : hurrah, swap, wasp, chaps, slab, squab, wamlocks, wamble, wash, was, gas, tassel, squat, wad, water, mange(r), mangy, all, wind-fall, false, *hazel*, alder, always, Albert, balk, wallet, *wallow*, swarm, *almanac*, sward, reward, ward, lard, quarry.

Also ME. a in wedge, wench, bennet, quarrel, wart; *prong*, *persuade*.

6. ME. au : raw, strew, thaw, awful, awl, *navel*, *gravel*, hauler, faucet, fawn(ing), laurel, awkward.

7. ME. u : up-, upper-hand, puppet, corruption, come, some, encumbrance, un-, unto, scrunch.

(A).

159. (A) is found for

1. ME. o : propagate, pebble, though, noddle, nonplush, *bottom*, follow, Polly, volume, abear, *model*, sorrel, fork, *northward*, ornament, fortune, hogshead¹), occupy, thong, wrong, rank.

2. ME. \bar{o} : rode; ME. \bar{o} : other, must.

3. ME. a : 't was not, quart, when.

4. ME. u : supper, comes, rummage, some-, nummit, much.

(oo).

160. (oo) represents

1. ME. \bar{o} , \hat{o} and \acute{o} : *go*, wo, foe, *creep*, *open*, opening, open-hearted, *nobody*, comb, clomb, homestead, loaf, cloven, oven, woven, *oval*, Shrovetide, most, *notice*, encroachment, *odious*, stone, whole, fole, stole, sole, old, bold, cold, fold,

1) For (o) in hogshead see p. 9.

hold, freehold, *smoulder*, mold, uphold, scold, sold, told, bolus, police, token.

Also in know, snow, low, throw, blown, bow, elbow; and in *then*.

2. ME. o : off, soldier, folk, *yolk*, lock.

Also in trough, coulter.

3. ME. \bar{o} : *moory*, *stir*.

4. ME. au : straw, soul.

5. ME. eu : *ewe*, *hew*, *sew*.

6. In *hoe*.

(o).

161. (o) is found for

1. ME. \bar{o} and \hat{o} : *then*, rope, Pope, hope, mope, *creep*, slope, clothes, mote, whole.

2. ME. o : folks.

In the Wdb. hope and mope do not occur; all the others are there transcribed with (oo), except mote (*muæt*, *moæt*), clothes (*tlaadhærz*). See § 27.

(oo).

162. (oo) is found for

1. ME. \bar{c} and \bar{c} : snow, know, no, loth, coal, tore, before, foreland, sycamore, story.

2. ME. u : furrow.

On this sound see § 23. The Glossary gives the transcription used in the Wdb.

(yy).

163. (yy) is found for

1. ME. \bar{u} : view, glue, pew, spue, crew, Sue, stew, stupid, cube, tube, dubious, spruce, produce, nuisance, use, abuse, refuse, amuse, usual, dispute, suit, flute, fruit, cruel, ruin.

2. ME. eu : blew, Jew, new, few, *row* s., shrew, cue, lee (*lew*), *lewth*, deuce, Tuesday.

3. ME. \bar{o} : do, *doment*, shoe, to, too, into, row v., roof, ruse. Also *two*, *who*, *whose*.

ME. \bar{o} from older $\bar{e}o$ in moss.

4. ME. u : through, tune, court.

5. Early ME $\bar{o}h$, $\bar{u}(h)$: *enough*, *slough*.

6. In *driveller*.

(æ).

164. (æ) is found for

1. ME. \bar{o} : hoop, booby, loom, bloom, groom, broom, proof, prove, booth, tooth, ooze, goose, choose, boot, foot, moot, root, mood, shod, brood, stood, goods, forenoon, moon, soon, spoon. Also in *womb, whose, swoon; both, comb, those*.

2. ME. $\bar{o}u$: *you*.

3. ME. \bar{u} : coop, droop, stoop, room, crumb, boose, *moult*.

4. ME. \bar{u} or u : loop, troop, whoop, loo, rendez-vous, cuckoo, push, bushel, *couch*, gouge, butchery, could, dragoon, course, coarse. Also in *enough, slough*.

5. ME. u : above, youth, puss, wood, woolly, hurrah, would, should. ME. $-u$ or $-uh$ in through.

6. ME. \ddot{u} : due, abuse, huge, pure, stupid.

7. ME. $-wi-$: *dwindle, twinge*.

8. In *azew; beau*.

(y).

165. (y) is found for

1. ME. \bar{o} : *sweep*.

2. ME. \ddot{u} : *duke*.

See § 31.

(ə).

166. (ə) is found for

1. ME. \bar{o} : sooner, fool, pool, school, spool, stool, tool, book, cook, look, took, hook(ed), crook(ed), rook¹).

2. ME. u : bull, full, -ful, pull, wool, suck.

3. ME. \ddot{u} : future. Also in rule, mule.

(ə).

167. (ə) is the sign for the different symbols used by Elworthy in his lists 28, 30 Part I, 30 Part II, 30 Part III (WSD. p. 57—60). See also Ch. I §§ 32—35.

(ə) represents

1. ME. i : chip, sip, ship, driblet, nimble, thimble, timber, simper, simple, timid (list 30 P. I); lip, dip, clip, rip, strip, drip, nip, pip, slip, snip, tip, trip, scripture, nipple, cripple, crisp, bib, glib, nib, rib, crib, tib, squib, scribble, swim, lim,

1) To these WSG. adds cool, foot, hoop.

slim, rim, prim, trim, grim, brim, *winnow*, whim, climb, limp, crimp, shrimp, limber (30 P. II); *winnowing*, whip, wimple, wimble, women (30 P. III); *dimmet*, giver, shiver, skewer, *liver*, quiver, deliver (list 28); shrivel, swivel, civil (30 P. II), smith (30 P. II); *mist*, miss (28); whisper, whist (30 P. I); fit, pit, teat, titter, spit(ter), squint, plinth, aslant (28); pitch, spitter, middle, finch, inch, pinch, finish (30 P. II); frill, shrill, sill, jilt, *miller*, billet, billow (30 P. I); gilt, milt, hilt, spilt, quilt, filter, guilty, built, guilt, tilt, tilth, gild, filth, milch, pilchard, silver, film, shilling, billiards, pillage, pillar, pillowed (30 P. II); will, silk, milk, pilgrimage, filbert, village, willow, *pyramid* (30 P. III), pit-hole.

2. ME. e, occasionally i?; (the vowel may originally have been long) : bramble, *chimney*, tremble, February (30 P. I); depth, limp, pepper, stem, seem, member, September, November, remembrance, limp, blemish (30 P. II); ever, however, never, sever, heat (28); cellar (30 P. I); pilfer (30 P. II); field-fare, (30 P. III), wreath, *instead*.

3. ME. ā : *chamber* (30 P. I), *ashamed*, (30 P. II).

4. ME. ō : doth, good-now, coolly (30 P. II).

WSG. gives cool with (ə).

5. ME. ō : soap (30 P. I).

6. ME. o, earlier ȝ : poplar (30 P. II).

7. ME. u : crupper (30 P. II); worthless, trust (28); flush, trowel (30 P. I).

(i).

168. (i) is found for

1. ME. i : give, flip, flippant, imot, deliverance, withe, enlist, scissors, business, sit, 't is not, beetle, fiddle, guinea, minnow, cinder, since, sinew, filmy, birthday, thick, shriek, quickness, strict, fixed, *tweak*, week, *creek*, wickedness, liquorice, vicarage, liquor, thicket, wicket, beaker, *brittle*, dig, fig, rig, ignorance, figure, cling, sling, sing, thing, wring, *ping*, *wince*, *winch*, shingles, ringlet, jingle, single, singular, finger.

2. ME. i or e : fledged, get, forget, sell, shell.

3. ME. ī : *alike*, *strike*.

4. ME. e : leper, leopard, sceptre, treble, lemon, ever, reverence, chest, desk, vegetables, jet, net, set, nettle, kettle, settle, Fred, pedlar, treadle, pedigree, sediment, steady, bench,

pension, fennel, penitent, many, geld, seldom, shelf, jelly, cellar, mellow, kersey. See 7.

5. ME. ē : believe, breast, beech, smeech, bleed, been, wheel, meek, seek, sick. In some words the ME. sound may have been shortened.

6. ME. ⁊ or ē : sheep, shepherd, seeding, riddle, steel, cheek, beacon.

7. ME. ē, ê (occasionally shortened) : treasure, measurement, heat, lead s., *instead*, meadow, jealous, zealous, beak, freak, leek. Leisure, pleasure (like measure) probably had ME. e.

8. ME. ⁊ : brother, dost, blood(y), stud.

9. ME. u : worse, dozen, worsted, crust, dust, trust, blush, thrush, brush, rush, touch, crutch, clutch, nut, flutter, curds, *run*, tun, stun, son, sun. Also rust.

10. ME. ü : overplus, justice, just, judge, study.

11. In against, clot, *joint*, *occasion*, *sleek*, onion.

(v).

169. (v) is chiefly found in unstressed syllables, see §§ 38, 39 and Ch. III § 405.

WSD. also gives the sound in cliff, cleft, drift, draft, draught, shift, slim, stiff.

(ſ).

170. (ſ) is found for

1. ME. u : shrub, double, rubbish, thumb, *bung*, pump, suffocate, sovereign, covet, cover, covert, rusty, crusty, husband, buskin, cushion, put, but, bud, pudding, bundle, fundament, hundred, dull, cull, bullet, bullock, pullet, pulley, poultry, bulge, buldery¹), pulpit, fuller, fur, attorney, Thursday, furthest, curve, *turnip*, furnace, wort, furlong, furlough, cursed, turf, scurf, thoroughbred, *urn*, decoy-duck, destructive, bucket, druggist, *donkey*, drunkard, tongue, *uncle*; and in *drag*²).

Also in butter, cutter, gutter, mutter, shutter, sputter, see Ch. I § 41.

1) Cp. bolderen, bulderen in Dutch; see Franck, Etymologisch Wdb. s. v. balderen.

2) ME. druggen; see NED. s. v. drug v.

2. ME. \bar{o} : hoof, roof, move, other, must, bosom, soot, shoot, Monday, nummit, word, hoard-apples. Also in tough, *hough*.

3. ME. \bar{o} : dough, only, choke.

4. ME. o : rob, jobs, yon, beyond, foreign, forwards, *orange*.

5. ME. \bar{a} : *potato*, apron.

6. ME. e : ebb, web, rebel, temper, well, belle, bell, smell, knell, spell, fell, tell, dwell, swell, elm, helmet, realm, overwhelm, self, help, belch, shelter, twelfth, felt, spelter, welter, smelter, welter, health, wealth, else, twelve, twelfth-day, elders, belly, bellows, fellow, mellow, felon, skeleton, dregs, hers, very; also fallow, halm¹), *barrow* 'mount', bark v. and s.

7. ME. a : *apart*, *square*, *thwart*.

8. ME. i : tippet, shift, lily, chilly, villain(y), *girth*, burying, mucky 'dirty'.

9. ME. \ddot{u} : humour, funeral, sugar.

10. ME. e, i, u, before r²); (the number of these has become very large through *r*-transposition). Cp. terrible, ferry, chirp, spirit, curse, world; also for originally long \bar{e} : ear, hear, year, here, and where. Instances of *r*-transposition : red, bread, great, rich, fringe, creditor, brush, bankrupt.

11. In (n)*either*; *embers*; *skur*.

(uu).

171. (uu) is in WSD. given for

1. ME. \ddot{u} : music, fluent, durable.

2. ME. \bar{u} : crumb; ME. u : above.

3. ME. \bar{o} : *go*.

The Wdb. gives (uu) only in above and go; crumb and music have ($\partial\partial$), whilst durable and fluent do not occur.

On (u) see Ch. I § 44.

(u).

172. For (u) see § 44.

(u).

173. (u) is found for ME. e, i, o, u in pepper; whip; *yolk*, yoke, suck respectively.

1) See NED. s. v. helm, s. 3.

2) There are so many instances that I give only a few. For more see the Glossary, passim.

For other pronunciations of suck, yoke, yolk, see the Glossary.

(aai).

174. (aai) is found for

1. ME. ei, ai : aye, bay, lay, faith, gay, flay, clay, play, slay, mislay, splay, display, May, pay, ray, dray, array, fray, gray, pray, stray, way, away, sway, aim, claim, faith, raise, praise, stays, bait, aid, laid, maid, paid, staid, chain, deign, feign, plain, complain, main, pain, grain, rain, reign, fain, train, strain, distrain, vain, vein, drain, sprain, rains, reins, brains, grains, pains, faint, plaint, complaint, paint, saint, taint, quaint, acquaint, acquaintance, dainty, plaintiff, bailiff, railing, tailor. Also in *mail*.

Also ME. ei before -ht : eight, straight; ME. ai from ēi : hay.

2. ME. ā : *plague, paling*.

3. ME. ī : by and bye, spry, why, sigh, my; also high.

4. In going, *quoin*.

(ai).

175. (ai) is found for

1. ME. ī : buy, bye, fie, my, pie, why, size, prize, smite, cider.

Late ME. ī from ēh, ēj : high, thigh, eyes, lie s. and v.

2. ME. a before sh : dash, gash, lash, clash, rash, sash, smash, trash.

3. ME. e before sh : *nes*h.

(əi).

176. (əi) is found for

1. ME. ī : lie, violet, violent, *lion*, fry, ripe, tripe, scribe, bribe, tribe, rime, diamond, cipher, fife, five, life, reive, knife, alive, strive, tithe, ice, entice, mice, *license*, fist, thistle, advise, *fives*-ball, assizes, site, writer, *bronchitis*, writing, abide, ride, slide, stride, hide, bridle, twine, spine, pint, finery, island, tiling, (be)like, *sigh*. Also in *peony*.

Also ME. ī from earlier ēh, ēj : *height*, highland, eye, die, dye, fly, *drought*.

2. ME. i in the comb. -iht : right, wright, fright, mighty.

3. ME. *i* : mind, behind, find, bind, hind, kind, rind, tind, wind, (cattle-)pen.

4. ME. *i* : *beetle*.

5. ME. *e* : beggar, begging.

6. ME. *oi* : *hoist*, *joist*, *point*.

Also (Ei) in *cow*.

(AAi).

177. (AAi) is found for

1. ME. *oi* : coy, decoy, annoy, annoyance, voice, invoice, choice, rejoice, void, joint, point, anointed, oil, trefoil¹). Also : convey, survey.

2. ME. *ei*, *ai* after labials : bait, wait, weigh(er), *weight*.

(Ai).

178. (Ai) occasionally occurs instead of (AAi). WSD. gives it in bait, wait, weigh, *weight*.

Sometimes the Wdb. gives (Ai), where WSD. had transcribed the word with (AAi). See §§ 1 ff.

(Ǝi).

179. (Ǝi) is found for ME. *oi* preceded by a labial: boy, poison, boil, spoil.

Also in good-bye.

(Eu).

180. (Eu) is found for ME. *ū* : allow, cow, how, somehow, *drought*, about, without, go out, rut, strout, loud, cloud, shroud, crowd, proud, down, brown, crown, bound, hound, pound, compound, round, around, ground, (un)sound, found, wound, count, encounter.

Also ME. *ū* from older *ōh* in *plough*.

(əu).

181. (əu) is found for

1. ME. *ū* : bow, allow, mouth, south, house (-hold), mouse, thousand, dust (-house), vouch, clout, stout, foundation, fountain.

Also *ū* from earlier *ug-* : sow; from earlier *ōh* : *plough*.

2. In *chew*, *claw*.

1) Moist is pronounced (moois). See Glossary.

(iv).

182. (iv) is found for

1. ME. ē : feel, field, yield, beer, dear, perseverance.

Also where in OE. the ws. dialects had ū : shield, steel, steer, *dearth*.

2. ME. ē (in OE. the ws. dialects had æ, the non- ws. usually ē) : needle, fear, afeard (Gloss. i. v. afraid), clear, abier, near, sleep, seed.

3. ME. ê or é : tear, shear, spear, leery, beard, fern, pert; also ME. ē in seam, beast, feast, feast, beat, leat (see Gloss. i. v. leak), bead, mead, bean, clean, snead.

4. ME. i : ill, Bill, hill, gill, guild, kill, mill, pill, spill, till, still, fill, will, Will, quill, swill, chill, wild, child; also in build(ing), this, *little*.

5. ME. ā : cane, cape, escape, case, cave, arcade, cage, cable, cake, care, casement, gable, engagement, chafe, chase, change, shade, shame, shake, shape, share, shave. Also in *scarce*, *again*.

6. In *fast*, *last*; (stīer) 'steep', skeer; *skur*.

(Ev).

183. (Ev) is found for

1. ME. ā : April, paper, rape, scrape, apricot, babe, baby, labour, able, ablish, ability, fable, table, fame, lame, blame, flame, frame, tame, name (less), *amen*, hame, safe, Davy, favour, Saviour, crave, save, wave v., *rathe*, *bathe*, lathe, ace, base, dace, face, lace, place, displace, mace, pace, space, brace, grace, disgrace, trace, facia, blaze, braze, craze, crazy, daze, lazy, haste, *waist*, bast, mast, taste, waste, page, rage, sage, stage, aged, date, fate, hate, late, plate, state, mate, pate, gait, rate, grate, prate, creator, nature, hatred, fade, lade, made, spade, trade, wade, *potato*, shady, lady, cradle, ladle, lane, plane, vane, ale, bale, gale, male, tale, stale, vale, whale, sale, bare, blare, dare, flare, glare, hare, mare, rare, stare, tare, aware, -ation (relation, situation etc.), bake(r), ache, shake, lake, make(r), rake, brake, stake, namesake, wake, quake(r), naked, *label*, bacon, taker, acre.

Also in *grape*, *tape*, *have*, *master*, *slate*, *range*, *grange*, *fracas*.

2. ME. a : sap(py), sapling, balm, palm, vat, bad, ban, man, pan, hand, Anne, part, apart.

3. ME. ē : heel, dreary, rare 'raw'.

4. ME. ê or ē : steal, bear, swear, tear, wear; bleat, appeal, deal, *heal*, meal, seal, stale s., veal, hair, queer, there, were, where and earth. Also in *whether*.

5. ME. ei, ai : bail, jail, veil, air, fair, pair, stair.

6. In *real*, *idea*; *steak*, *creak*, *sneak*, *streak*.

(ue).

184. (ue) is found for

1. ME. ō, ô and ó : rope, soap, foam, both, suppose, ghost, coach, roach, boat, vote, devote, load, road, toad, abroad, bone, stone, pole, *gold*, oar, boar, bore, more, sore, store, story.

Also ó in boast, coast, post, roast, toast, force, sort, sport, transport, board, sword, afford, forge.

2. ME. ō : *ore*.

3. ME. u : sull, court; also in cure, secure.

For many of these words the Wdb. gives other sounds,

viz. (oo) in golden, pole, bore, story;

(ov) in load, abroad, coach, sore, sort.

both (ov) and (ue) in rope, more, forth, board.

both (ov) and (Ae) in road.

both (yy) and (ue) in court.

Toad, bone, sword, sport have (ue) only; the rest of the words is not mentioned in the Wdb.

(ov).

185. (ov) is found for

1. ME. ō, ô : loath, clothes, soce, close, oast, hoarse, post, host, dose, nose, rose, broach, brooch, *poach(er)*, coat, goat, moat, note, throat, notice, goad, toad, trod, alone, stone, tone, throne, for, before, more, shore.

Also in blowed, knowed, showed, sowe, throwed.

ME. ó : ford, hoard, cord, *shord*, port, sort.

2. ME. ō : grewed.

3. ME. o : got, forgot, trod, vagabond.

4. In *your*; (n)aught; doze; *sure*.

(ov).

186. (ov) does not occur in the Wdb. In the list in

WSD. it is given, for knowed, blowed, crowed, score, scar. See §§ 23, 56.

The Wdb. gives (Aʋ) in *vase*, *shord*, *reached*.

(aaiv̥).

187. (aaiv̥) is found before l and r, representing ME. ei, ai : ail, fail, flail, frail, hail, nail, pail, rail, sail, tail, veil, wail, quail, aisle, prayers, stairs. Also in *mail*?

(əiv̥).

188. (əiv̥) occurs before l and r, representing ME. ī, í (also ī from older ig) : pile, viol, phial, mile, file, while; mild, wild; tile; iron, hire, fire, admire, entire, friar, desire, require.

Perhaps also in aisle (through confusion with isle; see NED.); cp. the preceding paragraph.

(Euv̥).

189. (Euv̥) is found before l, representing ME. ū : owl, bowl, growl, prowl. Also in *shovel*. See § 191.

(auv̥).

190. (auv̥) is found before r, representing ME. ū : our, hour, sour, flour, flower, tour, devour. Also in burly (ME. *ú*), *four* and *pour*.

(əuv̥).

191. (əuv̥) is found before l, representing ME. ū : foul, fowl, vowel, and in *shovel*. See § 189.

CHAPTER III.

An Historical Grammar of the Dialect of West Somerset.

A. Sounds.

I. Vowels.

General Remarks.

192. The dialect shares with the literary language most of the quantitative and qualitative changes that took place in Late OE. and in ME. But see the following paragraphs.

193. Before *-nd* the sounds point to *-ind*, *únd*, but *-and*, *ond*, just as in the standard language. But (ii) in *end*, *teen* 'kindle' (ME. *tenden*) shows that *-end* had *é* in ME. native words. For (*ee*) in *end* see § 214.

194. Before *-nge* the vowel seems to have been long in ME.; cp. *hinge* (§ 217). It is true that some French words in *-ange* are given with a short (*æ*), but that does not prove a ME. short *a*; see § 202.

195. The present sounds also point to long vowels in ME. before *-ld*; cp. (*iɐ*) in *field*, *yield*; (*əiɐ*) in *wild*, *mild*, see § 272. The pronunciation (*guɐl*) 'gold' may point to ME. *gīld*, but see § 274.

195b. (*əəm*, *yym*) 'womb' points to ME. *ó* (see § 277), but in (*wAAmlAAks*) the vowel must have been shortened.

195c. Before *r* + consonant we find some traces of long ME. vowels which the standard language does not share, viz. (*iɐ*) in *fern*, *pert*. We find (*uɐ*) in *board*, a. o. (§ 184), but (*uɐ*) is not a sure proof of ME. *ō* (see § 274). That ME. *ō* is *possible* in these words is shown by other dialects e. g. that of Adlington (cp. Adl. §§ 20,₂ and 40,₃).

196. The dialect shows several traces of ME. long vowels before *-st*:

(Eʊ) in *baste, haste, mast, taste, waste, master* (§ 256), *plaster* (§ 251), *waist*¹).

(əi) in *fist, thistle* (see also § 225).

(əu, Eu) in *dust, fusty*.

(uʊ) in *boast, coast, post, roast, toast*.

The pronunciation (kriistez) 'cresses' also points to ME. *é*. See, moreover, § 209.

Many pronunciations which correspond to ME. short vowels are probably due to literary influence, e. g. (aa) in *blast, cast, mast* [always (mEʊs) 'acorn'] (*i*) in *crust, trust, dust* [but (Eu) in the exclusively dialectal word *dusthouse*!], see § 235; (*i*) in *breast*. But some of these pronunciations may be genuinely dialectal, for instance (AA), corresponding to ME. *o* in *most* (but see §§ 275, 298), *almost, roast* (also uʊ).

ME. a.

197. ME. *a* has usually become (aa) : *back, tallow* etc.

Before nasals, however, the sound seemed to Elworthy to be (æ) : *can, thank* etc.

In a few words (aa) occurs before nasals, see Ch. II; in nearly all of them we may assume literary influence.

On the other hand (æ) is sometimes spoken before non-nasals. Other words have both (aa) and (æ) assigned to them.

On these variations see § 16.

198. (aa) in *wrestle* (see also § 204), (a) in *step, threshold, wretch* seem to point to ME. *a*. The variation of æ and e in *step, wrestle, wretched* is well-known in OE. For *threshold* *stretcher*, also, ME. forms with *a* are possible²). But the verb *stretch* has (æ). Cp. § 211.

199. The Late ME. change of *e* before *r* to *a* accounts for (aa) in *herb, errand* etc.; also in *spectacles* and *nesh* where *r* was inserted. On *nesh* cp. § 208.

1) (wEʊs) may be a dialectal adaptation of the standard pronunciation, for the genuinely dialectal word is *middle*.

2) Compare standard English *hatchel*, for which only forms with *e* occur in ME. texts. (Morsb. § 108 Anm. 1.)

200. *Apron* has (ɛ), *rafter* (E). Both deviations are due to the following cons.; *rafter* is marked with an asterisk, on the meaning of which see § 17. Cp. (ɛ) in *potato* (§ 251), and in *apart, square, thwart* etc. (§ 213).

201. *Sap(py), sapling, balm, palm, vat, bad, ban, hand, Anne, pan, man, part, apart* have (Eɐ), which usually represents ME. *ā*. In words like *bad, ban* etc., however, the vowel in standard English is never short; the voiced consonant that follows makes it half-long¹). And as the dialect makes a very small difference between long and short vowels (§§ 1—7), (æ) in *bad* etc. might easily be taken for a long vowel. The dialect, however, does not know (æ æ) or (EE); hence Elworthy heard (Eɐ). See also §§ 8—12, especially the two transcriptions of *had*, with (æ) and (Eɐ), and § 202.

This explanation does not account for *sap* with its derivations, nor for *vat*. Is (Eɐ) in *vat* due to *â* in the inflected forms? In the Wdb. s. v. *vat* Elworthy quotes 'fate, vesselle' from the Prompt. Parv., also 'vat, or vate' from Sherwood. Compare also standard English *dale* (OE. *dæl*). This explanation is also possible for some of the other words e. g. *ban* (in ME. *banes* occurs).

202. Some French words whose standard pronunciation points to ME. *ā* have (æ) in this dialect: *angel, danger, stranger, change* (Wdb.), *range* (Wdb.); but WSD. gives (Eɐ) for *range, grange*, (iɐ) for *change*; (æ) in *flange* agrees with the standard pronunciation. We may compare this with the variation of (æ) and (Eɐ) in *hand* (see § 201). In both cases the cause is to be found in the voiced consonant that follows.

203. Three native English words which in standard English have (ei) are pronounced with (a) in the dialect: *navel, gape, slate*.

Navel on account of its ending may have *ǣ* as well as *ā* in ME.

For the pronunciation (gap) we may assume a ME form **gappen*²), identical with dialectal Dutch (*gapən; gapm*). But

1) Hence the dialect pronounces (Eɐ) in *pan*, but (æ) in *pancake* (pæŋkiæk): in the latter word the voiceless (k) prevents the lengthening of the preceding vowel (and consonant). Cp. standard English *build, built*.

2) Does Walker's pronunciation (gaap) point to such a form? Cp. his pronunciation (baad) for *bade*. (Storm Engl. phil. p. 370).

it is also possible that the verb has adopted *ǣ* through association with the noun *gap*.

Slate with (æ, aa) points to ME. *slat*.

The pronunciations (slEʊt) and (giɐp), the latter given by Ellis, are probably dialectal adaptations of standard (sleit, geip).

204. ME. *a* has been rounded by preceding labial *m* and *w*, also by a following labial: *mange*, *wash*, *slab* etc., also in *when*¹).

Late ME. *a* before *r*, from earlier *e* (see § 199), accordingly, has become (AA) in *quarrel*, *wart*.

(AA) in *wench*, *wedge*, *bennet* is also a development of *a* (cp. § 198 and Morsb. § 108 Anm. 1). The rounded vowel of *wrestle* (rAAsl) may be compared with (AA) in standard *wrath*: in both (AA) is due to the labial articulation of *r*²).

The absence of rounding in *swan*, *wan*, *want*, all three pronounced with (æ), seems to be due to the following nasal.

205. ME. *a* followed by *l* is often represented by (AA): *all*, *false* etc.

(AA) in these words really represents Late ME. *au*. But in a great many words (aa) is given in spite of a following *l*. See §§ 24, 207, 302, 304.

206. For ME. *a*, influenced by a following *r*, see § 213.

207. (AA) also occurs in *gas*, *hurrah*, *lard*, *tassel*; (Aɐ) in *vase*. (lAArd) may be explained as derived from ME. *laurd* (NED. gives such a spelling), but no such explanation is possible for (AA) in *gas*, *hurrah* and *tassel*. It is most probable, therefore, that (AA) represents earlier *a*; see §§ 24, 205. (Aɐ) in *vase* is, no doubt, the dialectal form of the standard pronunciation (vAAz), which is now obsolete.

208. The combination -ash is pronounced (-aarsh) and (aish). The Wdb. gives (aarsh) only.

1) (AA) in standard *Marlborough* is also due to the initial *m*.

2) This pronunciation of *r*, which also explains the Alfredian *ryht* etc. (see Bülbring Elem. § 470), is by no means rare in educated southern English. (While preparing this for the press I find that prof. Bülbring has shown that *r* caused rounding in some Early ME. texts (Ancren Riwe and the Southern legends); see Bonner Beiträge 15 p. 111).

The same double pronunciation is given for *nesh*¹). (*naarsh*) cannot be due to literary influence. But (*aish*), also, may be dialectal. The ME. forms *fleisch*, *neis*, *threische* (Morsb. § 109 Anm. 8), also later forms (see *aishe*, *waishe* in Gasner p. 101, 107) show that *sh* often gives rise to diphthongs (see also Adlington §§ 21, 22, 28).

It is possible, however, that the pronunciation (*aish*) is a dialectal adaptation of the standard pronunciation.

209. *Fast* s., *last* v., and *scarce* are pronounced with (*iə*). But the adjectives *fast*, *last* have (*aa*). This difference is probably due to a difference of origin. *Last* adj. from *latost* had *a* in ME. But the verb was *læstan* in OE., *lēsten* in ME.

Fast adj. is derived from ME. *fast*. The literary pronunciation of *fast* s. represents ME. *fast*, a loan-word (see NED. s. v. *fast* s.¹). But the native OE. form was *fæsten*, which would become *fēste* in ME., which moreover knew the verb *fēsten* (see NED. s. v. *fasten* s. and v.).

(*iə*) in *fast*, *last* may therefore represent ME. *ē* (cp. *beast*, *feast*, and § 169).

On *scarce* see § 255.

ME. e.

210. ME. *e* has usually become (*æ*) : *edge*, *except*, *neck*, *guess*, *weather* etc.

211. Instead of (*æ*) we often find other sounds: (*aa*), (*a*), (*E*), (*i*), (*ə*).

In some cases we may assume a ME. form different from that which produced the present standard form. See § 198. That such deviating ME. forms not only *may* but *must* be the correspondents of some modern pronunciations is proved by (*AA*) in *wench* etc. See § 204. But in other cases a difference of origin is unlikely. (*aa*), for instance, in *fresh*, *refreshment*, *ejectment* cannot be supposed to represent ME. *a*. Neither is ME. *i* the probable correspondent of modern (*E*) in *deceptive*, *eleven*, *empty* etc. What is even more convincing, one word, *digested*, is in one place (WSD) transcribed with (*a*), in another (Wdb) with (*E*).

1) *Nesh may* have had *a* in ME. (cp. Gothic *hnasqus*), but the W. Som. forms do not prove that.

It is clear, therefore, that we are not justified in drawing what I may call "historical" conclusions from all these deviations; they are mostly differences of appreciation, as explained in § 16.

212. In some cases this difference seems due to a neighbouring consonant. (*i*), for instance, occurs for ME. *e*, not exclusively but still in by far the greater number of words where a labial follows or precedes. The same applies to (ə) and (ɛ). See also §§ 36, 37.

Also before *l* we find both (ə) and (ɛ): *jelly* etc.; *helmet*, *halm*, *fallow* etc.

213. Before *r* ME. *e*, as well as ME. *i* and ME. *u*, have become (ɛ) : *terrible*, *chirp*, *spirit*, *curse* etc. etc.

(ɛ) in *barrow* 'tumulus', *bark* v., *smart* adj., also in *apart*, *thwart*, *square* shows that the W. Som. dialect in Late ME. had *e* in these words¹).

214. Before *-n* and *-n + cons.* the vowel has been lengthened to (ee) : *den*, *hen*, *bend* etc.

This lengthening also took place in some other words, where the following consonant is in all cases final. We find (ee) in *hem*, *hemp*, *tempt*; but (E) in *empty*, *temperance*. Also (ee) in *bed(ding)*, *wed(ding)*, but (æ) in *better*, *setter*, *reticule* etc. *Egg* has (ee), but also (æ) and even (əi)²).

(ee) in *end* is a dialectal adaptation of the standard pronunciation (cp. *ee* in *bend*, *defend*, *amend*, *spend* etc.). See § 193.

215. Early shortening of ME. *ē*, *ē* has produced (æ) in *breath*, *death*, *spread*, *thread*, *threat*, *breadth*, *leave*³), *pet*; *earth*; (E) in *sweath*, *wreath*; (*i*) in many words e. g. *lead*, *treasure*. See § 264.

216. (E) in *gather*, *aslant*, *catch*, *flax*, *axe*, *wax* probably represents ME. *e* though ME. *a* is possible. Other dialects also

1) *Wheel-barrow*, *barrow* 'pig', *bark* s. have (aa) in the dialect.

2) (əi) in *beg* and *egg* is perhaps due to the following cons. See § 71. (əi) in (cattle-) *pen* is the regular equivalent of ME. *í* : ME. **pind*, OE. **pýnd*, the result of the blending of OE. **púnd* (MnE. *pound*) with OE. *pýndan*.

3) For the short vowel of *leave* cp. §§ 446f. *Earth* is also pronounced (Eəth).

point to ME. *e*-forms (cp. Windhill § 33, and also Chaucer gr. § 11)¹). For *aslant* a form with *e* is found as early as the thirteenth century (NED.). (E) in *gather*, however, may be a shortening of the diphthong, due to ME. *ā*; see § 251. Also a form with ME. *i* is possible (cp. *togidre*, Morsb. § 104 Anm. 2).

217. *Sprinkle* has (æ), pointing to ME. *e*. It is more likely, therefore, that (ii) in *hinge* represents ME. *é* (for ME. *hénge* see Kluge, Grundriss p. 1025 Anm.) than ME. *i*. See also § 194.

ME. i.

218. ME. *i* has developed into (ii, i) and (E).

On the whole we may say that (ii, i) are found before alveolars (tsh, sh, t, d, n) : *itch, meecher, dish, wit, eyelid, kin*. Before other consonants the sound is (E) : *pith, drift, mixture*.

219. The rules given in § 218 do not invariably hold true : (E) is given in many words before *s* : *miss, lithesome, cistern* a. o., and before *-d, -t, -nt* : see § 154. Many of these deviations are certainly due to the influence of standard English. This can be proved for (dEd), a literary form by the side of the genuinely dialectal (dyyd). See § 444. *Litter* is marked with an asterisk, see §§ 17, 220.

On (ii) in *if, forgive, gifted, live, cliff* (see the Glossary), *sieve* compare Chapter 4, §§ 483 ff.

220. Final *l* usually develops a vocal murmur, which turns the preceding vowel into a diphthong (iə) : *hill, ill, chill*. Also in *build, child* (see § 272).

In *frill, shrill, will, sill* the vowel is (ə); in the first three it is perhaps due to the preceding labial, but see the end of this paragraph.

Labials and medial *l* often turn (E), (i) into (i, ə) : *flippant, business, fiddle; liver, fit, pit* etc. Instead of (ə) we occasionally find (ɛ) : *chilly, tippet*, see § 36.

It is almost certain, however, that in many of these words, if not in all, (i, ə) are due to the standard pronunciation. Thus *pit* is transcribed both with (ii) and (ə); for *pitch* s. also both these vowels are given, but *pitch* v. is only transcribed

1) The pronunciation (e) in Burns also points to ME. *e*, for ME. *a* in that dialect regularly remains (a).

with (ə). The verb *till* is pronounced (tiəl) and (təl), but the noun is transcribed (təl) only. These variations cannot be the results of a regular development; it is clear that (ii), or, before final *l*, (iə) is the dialectal sound, whilst (i, ə) is the dialectal adaptation of standard short *i*. In *frill*, *shrill*, *will*, *sill* the (ə) is also most likely due to standard English.

221. For ME. *i* before *r* see § 213.

222. In *twinge*, *dwindle* the labial has disappeared before long (əə).

223. The ME. comb. *iht* has become (eet) : *night*, *slight* etc. *Right*, *wright*, *fright* s., *frighten*, *mighty*, with (əi) are probably loanwords from the literary language. *Height* may have been influenced by *high* (see § 482b).

224. A few other words have (ee) : *is*, *these*, *pig*, *evil*, *with*. In *is*, *these*, (ee) may be a lengthening due to the following voiced cons. (*th* is lost in *with*). *Pig* is also spoken with (E) and (e). On *evil* see Ch. 4.

225. In a few words ME. *i* is represented by an *a*-sound : (æ) in *thistle* (see § 196); (a) in *spittle*; (aa) in *hit*, *slat*, *auricula*; (a) and (æ) in *spit*, (a) and (i) in *knitch*.

These *a*-sounds do not necessarily point to a different ME. vowel; (æ, a, aa) may be variations of (E), which is the modern sound often corresponding to ME. *i*; see §§ 16, 18, 211, 215, 218. But we can only expect (E) in *auricula* [cp. (krakit) 'cricket' in Windhill], not before alveolars, where the regular sound would be (ii).

It is possible, however, to assume ME. forms with another vowel than *i* for *spit*, *hit*, *slit* and *spittle*.

226. Standard *spit* is the modern form of OE. *spittan*, *spittian*; but OE. also had a verb *spætan*. In ME. the latter has a preterite *spatte*, *spette*. Such preterites might easily give rise to present tenses **spatten* or **spetten*, which would regularly become (spat), (spæt) in W.-Somerset. These forms of the present tense do not, as far as I know, occur in ME. texts, but the formation of new present tenses from the preterites is very common in this dialect (see §§ 446 ff.) As to the verb *spēten* and its preterite *spette*, *spatte*, it is often used in southern texts by the side of *spitten* (see Bülbring Ablaut p. 113 and § 340). Cp. also the standard preterite *spat* (from ME. *spatte*) by the side of the present *spit* (from ME. *spitten*).

The ME. pret. of *hit* is usually *hitte*. Only for Scotch NED. gives a preterite *hatt*. A form **hatte*, which can be explained as due to preterites like *bad*, *sat* of *bid*, *sit* is therefore possible in southern English. And from a pret. **hatte* a present tense **hatten* could be formed (like *spetten* from the pret. *spette*).

A similar explanation would account for (slaat)¹⁾, which, of course, must be derived from the ME. weak verb *slitten*, not from the strong *slīten*²⁾.

227. The present dialectal pronunciation (spatl) may represent ME. *spittel* (§ 225). But in ME. texts we also meet with *spettel* and with *spattel* (shortened from OE. *spāt!*); both these forms might have produced the present (spatl).

ME. o.

228. ME. o has usually become (AA), (A) : *knob*, *frost*, *nod*, *wrong*, *sock*, *fork* etc.

229. Some words have (oo) : *off*, *soldier*, *yolk*, *folk*. Although (oo) usually represents ME. *ō*, it is hardly likely that these words have had long *ō* in ME. As the sound agrees with the standard pronunciation of the last three words, there is the possibility of literary influence, and this explanation is almost certain in the case of (jook) 'yolk', for this word is also pronounced (jElk); the latter is, no doubt, the true dialectal pronunciation.

230. The influence of labials is seen in *foreign*, *form*, *rob*, *jobs*, *forward* with (ɛ). The same pronunciation is given for *yon*, *beyond*, *thorn(en)*, *orange*. In the two last (ɛ) may be due to the labial articulation of *r* (§ 204). See also § 233.

231. In some cases *o* has been unrounded; to (a) in *drop*, *crop*, *rotted* a. o., to (aa) in *loft*, *cloth*, *knock* a. o., to (æ) in *stop v.*, *rob*, *robin*, *rod*, *knod*, *plot*.

1) In Hartland (Devon) both *slit* and *slat* are pronounced; the latter is no doubt the true dialectal form.

2) In the same way we can explain the ME. pres. tense *splatten*. The regular present is *splīten*, from OE. *splītan*, but, as in the case of *slit*, there must also have been a weak verb *splitten*, which is supported by the forms *splitted* for the past part. in the trans., *split* in the intrans. sense, both in Shakespeare. Cp. also Du. *splitten*, a weak verb. ME. *spletten*, however, cannot be thus explained, but may be derived from *splitten* (see Morsb. § 114).

This unrounding is also known in ME. texts (cp. Kluge, Grundriss p. 1044) and in some other modern dialects, but the change seems to be occasional everywhere, i. e. no rule is apparent.

232. Many words have two pronunciations : one with an o-sound agreeing with standard speech, and another which is probably (at least in most cases) the real dialectal sound. See the Gloss. i. v. *notch, rod, rot; for, jobs, jot, only, other, some*. Cp. also the double transcription of *moss*.

233. Rob has (ɛ) and (æ). It is quite possible that (ɛ) in *rob* (and equally so in the words in § 230) is a dialectal adaptation of the literary sound (see § 40 on the o-quality of ɛ).

Me. u.

234. ME. *u* has been unrounded just as in the standard language; the resulting sound is (ɛ) : *young, turf*, also in *bullet, pudding, pulley* etc.: and in *sovereign, drag*.

For the pronunciation of *u* in *butter, gutter* etc., see § 41.

235. Several words are given with (i)¹); the Wdb. in those cases often gives (ə), which hardly differs from (ɛ); see § 42.

In some words (i) seems to be the dialectal pronunciation of the literary sound : *run, dust* are transcribed (rin) and (dis) although the genuine forms are (ɛrn) and (dEust). See § 196.

This helps us to account for the two pronunciations, given for *touchy* : (titshi) in WSD., (tEtshi) in the Wdb. The former is, no doubt, due to the standard pronunciation, the latter corresponds to a form with *e* in ME. (Cp. ME. *tecche* s. and the 18th Century spelling *tetchy*, quoted by Mr. Elworthy from the Spectator; see also Skeat Etym. Dict. s. v. *tetchy*).

On (v) in *ugly, puncheon* see § 39.

236. Before *l* some words have (E) : *dull, dowlas, skulk, sultry*; see § 42.

237. For ME. *u* before *r* see § 213.

238. In closed as well as in open syllables ME. *u* has sometimes become (əə) or (ə) : *wood, could, bull, bush* etc.

1) Several other dialects have *i* for short *u*. Compare also vulgar English *kiver* 'cover' (Pickwick), *kipple* 'couple' (Thackeray), quoted by Storm, Engl. phil. (p. 819), also *jist* 'just', *sich* 'such', ib. p. 821.

Couch-grass is pronounced both (kætsh-) and (twiitsh-). The former agrees with the usual southern form, and may therefore be a loanword from another dialect. But (twiitsh) seems to be a genuine W.-Somerset pronunciation; cp. also (kwiid) 'cud', and, for the change of *k* into *t*, § 380.

(əə) in *dragoon*, *groom* is in accordance with the standard pronunciation: both seem to point to ME. *ō*. The question whether these (əə)-forms really prove the existence of ME. *ō* is discussed in Ch. IV.

239. In some words (əə) is occasionally raised to (yy): *court*, *pussy*, *wood*. See § 30.

For (yɐ) in *court*, *wool* see § 10.

240. In a few words ME. *u* has become (AA), (A): *come*, *some*, *rummage*, *bottle*, *un-*, *up-* etc.

In all the words (AA) is followed by a labial, except in *much*, *bottle*, *un-*, *unto*, *scrunch*. In *un-*, *unto* the vowel has not the full stress. In *much*, *bottle* a labial precedes. For *scrunch* Swift writes *craunch* (Skeat, Et. Dict. s. v. *crunch*).

It seems, therefore, that the lowering of (Ē) to (AA) is due to the neighbouring labial (cp. §§ 40, 283 and Ch. IV, but also §§ 230, 233).

One is transcribed (uun) and (wAAn); also (wAAns) 'once'. As (uun) must be dialectal we may assume the influence of standard English to account for (wAAn), in which a *preceding* labial seems to have had the same lowering effect¹).

241. *Scud*, *among*, *amongst* have (æ), *furrow* (a). The Wdb. adds that only in the meaning 'shower' *scud* has this pronunciation; *scud* (over a wound) is (skĒd).

(æ) in *among*(st) may be due to ME. *a*.

Furrow is also pronounced (voɐr), which seems to point to a ME. *o*-sound. (a) in *furrow* may be an unrounded *o* (see § 231).

242. In a few words ME. *u* seems to have been preserved; as (uu) in *above*; as (uɐ) in *court*, *sull*. All three words, however, are also pronounced differently: (əə) in *above*, *court*²), (oo) in *sull*. See § 515.

On (uu) see § 43.

1) Is (A) in standard *bottle* also due to the preceding labial?

2) *Court* has also (yɐ), see § 239.

243. *Coulter* has both (oo) and (ʒ). The former may be a literary pronunciation, the latter can hardly be other than dialectal.

ME. ü.

244. The words with ME. *ü* are all of French origin, which increases the difficulty of distinguishing between ME. long and short.

The long *ü* has resulted in the same sound as ME. *eu*, see § 308.

(yy) is pronounced in *tube*, *tune* etc.; (y) in *duke*; (əə) in *due*, *huge*, *abuse*, *pure*. See § 30.

245. In closed syllables *ü* has been treated like *u*. Hence we find (i) or (ə) in *judge*, *judgment*, *just*, *justice*, *study*, *overplus*.

246. (ʒ) is found in *sugar*, *funeral*, *humour*; (ə) in *mule*, *future*, *trowel*. The Wdb., however, gives (əə), (yʊ) for *mule*, probably due to standard English, which also accounts for (trEʊəl) 'trowel' by the side of (trəl)¹.

247. *Multitude* and *vulgar* with (E) show the same development as ME. *u* before *l* in *dull* etc. (§ 236).

248. A few words have (uu) : *music*, *durable*, *fluent*; (uʊ) in *cure*, *secure*; (oʊ) in *sure*. See § 43; 242; and compare (oʊ) in *your* (§ 313).

ME. ā.

249. ME. *ā* has become (Eʊ) : *able*, *babe*, *fable* etc.

250. If preceded by *c*, *g*, *ch*, *sh* the diphthong is (iʊ) : *case*, *gable*, *chafe*, *shame* etc.

This is easily explained by considering

1. that *c* and *g*, if followed by a palatal vowel, i. e. (Eʊ), are palatal as well as *ch* and *sh* (see § 379).

2. that the first element of (Eʊ) is not always clearly (E) but sometimes rather an *i*-sound (see § 55), even apart from the influence of a preceding consonant.

251. (E) in *make*, *patient*, *plaster* is probably a shortening of (Eʊ). On long *ā* in ME. *plaster* see Kluge Grundriss p. 1036. The modern Adlington pronunciation (ee) in *plaster* also requires ME. long *ā* (Adlington § 50, 2, c).

1) Elworthy notes (trəl) as the 'common pronunciation'.

Perhaps (Ǽ) in *potato* is also a development of (Eǣ), which after its shortening to (E) became (Ǽ), through the influence of the consonant that follows (see § 372).

252. *Occasion* with (i), *ashamed*, *chamber* with (ə) show shortenings of an earlier (iǣ).

253. Although *grape*, *tape* would seem to be derived from French forms with short *a*, the modern pronunciation in lit. English as well as W.-Som. (Eǣ) shows that long *ā* must have existed. Cp. (Eǣ) in *sap* (§ 201), and also (a) by the side of (ee) in *paper* in the modern Adl. dialect (Adlington § 50, 1, a and 2, a). (Eǣ) in *have* may represent ME. *ā* but short *a* is equally possible (see § 201).

254. Both (Eǣ) and (aa) are given for *bathe*, *amen*. (bEǣdh) is always intransitive; (baadh, bath) transitive. The latter is probably a derivation of the noun; see NED. s. v. *bath* v.

The double pronunciation in *amen* also agrees with literary usage.

255. (iǣ) in *scarce* seems to point to ME. *á*, as in standard English.

256. (Eǣ) in *master* and (iǣ) in *again* point to ME. *á*, *ā* : *azān* occurs in *Lazamon*; for *máster* see §§ 196, 251.

For *steak* cp. Ch. IV.

257. *Plague* and *paling* with (aai) seem very difficult to explain.

ME. *ē*.

258. ME. *ē* has been raised to (ee) : *leap*, *steam*, *bread* etc.

259. In the neighbourhood of *l* and *r* the sound is often (Eǣ) : *meal*, *heal*¹), *steal*, *swear*, *tear* etc. Also in *whether* (ME. *wher*).

In *real*, *idea* (Eǣ) probably corresponds, not to ME. *ē*, but to ME. *ē* + *a* (followed by *l*, *r*).

1) *To heal* 'make whole' is pronounced (Eǣl), but *to heal* 'conceal' (eǣl).

Although (Eǣ) and (eǣ) cannot always be clearly distinguished from (iǣ), see § 55, it is possible that the two pronunciations of *heal* are founded on different ME. vowels.

The dialect shows no difference between ME. *ē* (OE. *helan* or *helian*) and ME. *ē* (OE. *hǣlan*), but (eǣl) may represent ME. *hillen* 'conceal'. See NED. i. v. *hill*.

260. Some words which in ME. we should expect to have had \bar{e} , are spoken with (ii), (iə), which seem to prove ME. forms with \bar{e} . See Ch. IV §§ 493 ff.

261. Initial (j) in *hear, here, ear, heat, heath, hearth, eel, heifer, embers, herring, emmet* represents the first part of a diphthong, originally beginning with *i*, which became a consonant, when the diphthong turned into a rising diphthong (cp. § 310 and Ch. IV §§ 516 ff.).

The same process explains literary (ju) for older (iu)¹. Many words with initial \bar{e} have no (j) e. g. *heal, heave, head*. But according to 'Devoniensis' (see Elworthy's edition of the Exm. Sc. p. 64) *head* was then (18th cent.) pronounced like *yead*; he also transcribes *evening* by *yeaveling*, *eyes* by *yees*. This shows that the absence of initial (j) may be due to literary influence, which becomes still more likely by the additional instances of initial (j) given in the Wdb.: *yapril* (jEʷprəl) 'April'; *yapurd* (japərd) 'halfpennyworth'; *yarbing* (jarbin) 'gathering herbs', *yarnest* (jarnis) 'earnest'. All these words were in the two preceding books transcribed without (j).

Emmet (jamət) represents ME. \bar{e} mete with long \bar{e} , for short *e* would not have produced a diphthong. The same \bar{e} explains the spelling *yewmors* (Devoniensis), representing ME. *eemer* (cp. NED. i. v. *ember*), which is, in the modern dialect, pronounced (jʔmørz).

Long ME. \bar{e} in *herring* is also proved by the Windhill pronunciation (iə), which corresponds to ME. \bar{e} or \acute{e} (not to \hat{e}).

(jʔrgraas) 'eargrass' is explained by Elworthy as *year-grass*, either originally or at least by popular etymology. For the word means 'annual or biennial grasses sown upon arable land'. NED. s. v. *ee-grass* connects this with *ear-grass*, but *ee-grass* means 'eddish', stubble-field, aftermath, and the insertion of (r) would have to be explained.

1) As early as the 13th Century we find such spellings as *yend* (NED.).

For the change of a falling into a rising diphthong we may compare the standard pronunciation (jʔ) for (iə) in *year, here, dear* etc., also not rarely in *ear-ache*. According to Bearder (jʔ) is pronounced even medially in *serious, nearer* etc. (quoted by Western, Englische lautlehre, 2^e aufl. 1902. § 14, p. 12).

262. *These* is pronounced (dheez), but also dhəəz).

The latter pronunciation, however, although really meaning 'these', is formally identical with *those*. On this use of *those*, *that* for *these*, *this* see Dean Alford, *The Queen's English*, who gives 'those houses to let', 'that house for sale' from placards in front of the very houses, in Devonshire (Storm Engl. Phil. II p. 702, also the note, in which analogical French expressions are compared).

ME. ē.

263. ME. ē has become (ii), or (before *l* and *r*)¹⁾ has turned into the murmur-diphthong (iə) : *fee*, *be*, *freeze*; *feel*, *steer*; also ME. é : *end*, *teen* (§ 193).

Sometimes, almost exclusively before voiceless consonants, the sound is (i) : *keep*, *feet*, *thief* etc.

For initial ē see § 261.

264. Occasionally the sound is lowered: (i) in *breast*, *bleed*, *beech*, *wheel* a. o.; (ə) in *seem*, *depth*, *field-fare*.

In most of these words the literary language has a long vowel, but the dialectal sound most probably represents a ME. short vowel; see also §§ 196, 215.

265. (ee) is spoken in *forbid*, *bee*, *he*, *flee*, *reel*, *beseech*, *beetroot*, *teeth*, *heedless*, *believe*, *priest*, *fever*.

Some of these words are also given with (ii) : *forbid*, *bee*, *he*, *flee* v. The Wdb. gives (tleen) and (tlien) for *clean*, (kriip) and (kreep) for *creep*.

The most probable explanation seems to be that (ii) is sometimes lowered to (ee). See § 21.

266. In *heel*, *rare* 'underdone', *drear*, *queer* the pronunciation is (Eə) according to WSD. but the Wdb. gives (iə) for *heel*. Cp. § 55.

267. *Beetle* 'mallet' is pronounced (baatl, bəitl). It is improbable that both pronunciations are genuine W. Somerset forms. The (əi) would seem to point to ME. ī, which represented OE. īe. We also have (əi) in *hear*; but Elworthy said he had rarely heard it so pronounced, and that he considered it 'obsolete'. But this conclusion is not necessarily correct: it may be heard rarely, not because it is obsolete, but because

1) Also (iə) in (biəs) 'beestings'; see §§ 8 ff.

it is not really a W. Somerset form. Thus (əi) in *beetle*, *hear*, may be borrowed from a neighbouring dialect, probably from the speech of the counties south-east of Somerset (the home of Alfred's language). This view is supported by (smitsh, smītsh) 'dust, smoke', OE. *smīč* (westsaxon), *smēč* (non- ws.). The modern form corresponds to ME. *smēche*; it would not be impossible to derive (smitsh, smītsh) from ME. *smīche*, by assuming that the vowel was shortened, (as in *ditch*), but there is no evidence that such a shortening really took place.

It is most likely, therefore, that the W. Somerset forms correspond to *ē*-forms (for Oldgermanic *au* + *i*).

The genuine dialectal form for *beetle* would then be (baatl). It may be derived from ME. *bettle* (a form occurring in the Ancren Riwe), which may be a shortening of *bētel*.

268. Early ME. -*ēȝ*, -*ēh* (OE. -*ēog*, *ēag*,- *ēoh*, -*ēah*) became *ī* in ME. already. Hence we have (ai, əi) in *lie*, *eye*, *thigh*, *high* etc. See § 273.

ME. *ī*.

269. ME. *ī* has been diphthongized; (əi, ai) : *ripe*, *life*, *ride*; *high*, *die*, *fly* 'volare'. Before *l* and *r* the sound is (əiv) : *pile*, *hire*, *desire*.

Also (pəini) 'peony' ME. *pione*; see § 415 b.

270. A preceding labial turns (əi) into (wɛi) : *good-bye*; but most words do not show this change, see § 300.

271. A few words seem to have preserved the ME. sound : (ii) is spoken in *stifle*, *oblige*, *shine*; (ee) in *dive*, *five*, *drive*, *knife*, *china*, *nine*, *line*, *lining*, *size*, *nice*, *ambergris*, *verdigris*, *bite* v.; moreover the Wdb. gives both (ee) and (əi) for *line*, *cider*, *knife*, *five*; but only (əi) in *size*.

It seems probable that (əi) in these words is a literary pronunciation.

Some words have (i) : *peep*, *white*, *kite*, *alike*; (i) in *alike*, *sleek*, *strike*, *dyke*.

On all these see Ch. IV §§ 498 ff.

272. The combinations -*ild*, -*ind* have (əi) : *mild*, *kind*, *mind* etc. (cp. §§ 193, 194).

Build, *child* with (iv), *blind* with (ee) point to ME. *i*, with early shortening. Also the standard language knows exceptions : *build*, *wind* s.

In one word, *wild*, Elworthy gives both ($i\bar{e}$) and ($\bar{o}i\bar{e}$). The former is, no doubt, the dialectal pronunciation.

273. Just as for the combinations *-ild*, *-ind*, there are exceptions for the ending *-ēog*, which usually has forms pointing to ME. \bar{i} (see § 268): *fly* s., *lies* have (ii , ee). It is remarkable that the sing. *lie* has ($\bar{o}i$, ai). This points to the plural being a different word from the sing. And this leads us to the explanation of (*leez*) as representing ME. *lēse* (OE. *lēas*); cp. NED. i. v. *lease*, a. and sb.² The ME. form would regularly have final (s), but if the word was taken for the plural of *lie* the ending would necessarily become (z). See §§ 530, 466. This explanation seems to be supported by the confusion between *lease* and the plural *lees*, which occurs in Northern dialects (see NED. i. v. *lie* sb.⁷).

ME. \bar{o} .

274. ME. \bar{o} has become (oo , o , ov , $u\bar{e}$) : *opening*, *loaf*, *most*; *then* (ME. *thō*), *rope*, *whole*; *coat*, *dose*, *tone*; *rope*, *load*, *abroad*¹).

Some words are given with two of these sounds; *stone* even with three (oo , ov , $u\bar{e}$). This shows convincingly that the difference between them is small (cp. §§ 9, 27, 57). It is not likely that the variations are due to the standard pronunciation; at least an exclusively dialectal word, *shord*, is pronounced with (ov) and even ($A\bar{e}$). See §§ 57, 195.

275. The ME. sound seems occasionally to have been shortened: hence (AA) in *inroad*, *froth*, *loth*, *most* a. o. (see § 283). For ($AAfis$) 'eaves' see Ch. IV, § 530.

Some of these words, however, have also other, regular sounds : (oo) in *loth*, *borer*, *story*, *blow*; ($u\bar{e}$) in *post*, *roast*; (ui) in *almost*, *most*²).

1) To long ME. \bar{o} seem to point ($u\bar{e}$) and (ov) in *cord*, *forge*, *transport*, *sort*, *force*, *vagabond*. But it is not impossible that the diphthongs are developments of ME. o , modified, by the following consonant (r and n , see § 10).

2) (muu -is) seems to be a superlative of $*(muu)$, which might be supposed to be the positive, belonging to ($mu\bar{e}r$); see also § 46, note 1. I may remark that such is probably also the explanation for Adlington ($muist$), used by the side of ($mu\bar{e}st$), and for OE. *māest* (instead of $*māst$). See § 298, note.

Of these double pronunciations one may sometimes be due to literary influence. *Post* e. g. is pronounced with (uɐ) when it means letter-post, with (AA) when it means post for a gate. Of these the former pronunciation seems literary, the latter the real dialectal sound.

276. Also later shortenings (i. e. after \bar{o} had been raised) occur: to (ɪ) in *only, choke*; (ə) in *soap* (see § 284).

277. (əə) in *both, comb, womb, whose, those* points to ME. \bar{o} . In *womb, whose* \bar{o} is explained by the influence of the preceding *w*, which also shows itself in the standard pronunciation of these words.

For the other words see Ch. IV §§ 512 ff.

(zyp) 'sweep' corresponds to ME. *sōpen* < *swōpen* < OE. *swāpan*¹).

278. In a few words initial \bar{o} has developed into *w* + vowel: *hoard, whole, oats*.

In ME. we find such spellings as *whole, whome* 'home', *whot* 'hot'. These forms would explain the pronunciations (woɛrd), (wol). But *oats* is pronounced (wEts, wəts), which is perhaps a development of earlier (uɐ). Cp. (jE) in *heat* etc. (§ 261).

It seems that initial \bar{o} has not always resulted in this sound. For (oo) is found in most words with initial \bar{o} , not only where literary influence is possible, but also in *oast*, which can hardly be other than dialectal. Cp. also *one*, § 240.

Cp. also the development of initial (w) in Adlington § 63, Note.

279. The (oo) of *hoe* shows that, like the literary word, it is not to be derived from a ME. form with *u* (French *houe*) but with \bar{o} , for which see NED. i. v. *hoe* sb.²

ME. \bar{o} .

280. ME. \bar{o} has been fronted becoming (əə), or (yy): *mood, root, stood, hoop, loom, bloom, proof; do, shoe*; also in *moss*²). Before *k* and *l* the vowel is shortened to (ə): *hook* etc.;

1) (zwip) is, of course, due to standard English; (zip) seems to be a blending of dialectal (zyp) and standard (zwip).

2) (myyz) points to ME. *mōse* (see Stratmann-Bradley s. v. *mos* s.¹), which would be due to the inflected forms of OE. *mēos*. The change of *ēo* into a rising diphthong may be compared with the same development of *eo* in OE. *feower*, MnE. *four*.

cool etc.; also in *doth*, *sooner*. Cp. the short vowel in standard *hook*, *crook* etc.

281. Words in ME. $-\bar{o}h$ have ($\partial\partial$, yy) : *slough*, *enough*. (∂u , Eu) in *bough*, *plough*; (Æ) in *tough*, *slough* are possibly due to literary influence. See § 389.

282. Medial $-\bar{o}w-$ has become identical with ME. $\bar{o}w-$ (OE. $\bar{a}w-$, o before g and h). See § 312.

283. ME. \bar{o} has been shortened to o , hence modern (AA) in *rod*, *shot*, *soft*, *blossom*, *mother*, *flow*, *no*; (A) in *other*. See § 275. But *nummit* 'luncheon' has both (Æ) and (A), so that (A), at least before or after labials (§ 240), may be the result of earlier u (§ 284).

284. A later shortening, when \bar{o} had already become \bar{u} , resulted in (Æ), (i) through \bar{u} : *soot*, *Monday* etc.; *blood*, *brother* etc. See § 276.

($\text{Æ}dh\bar{u}r$) 'either' corresponds to ME. *ouðer*, (*eedher*) in *eitherways* represents ME. *either* (see NED. s. v. *either*).

285. *Go* has the rare (uu), see § 43. The past part. is transcribed as ($\text{eg}\partial\partial d$). Both sounds probably represent ME. \bar{o} . For ME. \bar{o} in *go* see Luick (references in the 'Wortregister'). *Ore* with ($u\bar{e}$) may be derived from a ME. form with \bar{o} (cp. uu in *go*) or also ME. \bar{o} (OE. $\bar{a}r$). (*stoor*) 'stir' corresponds to ME. *storien*, which Bradley compares with MHG. *storen*. The same lowering effect of r is seen in (*moori*) 'moory'. Cp. §§ 242, 248.

ME. \bar{u} .

286. ME. \bar{u} has become a diphthong (∂u , Eu) : *mouth*, *south*, *stout*. Before l and r the vocal murmur causes a diphthong to become a triphthong : ($\partial u\bar{e}$, $Eu\bar{e}$) before l , ($au\bar{e}$) before r e. g. *foul*; *owl*, *bowl* v. and s. (cp. NED. i. v. *bowl* sb.²); *flour* etc.¹).

($drEu\bar{t}h$) 'drought', being analysed as ($drEu$) + the suffix ($-th$), see § 482 b, gave rise to a verb ($drEu$)², intransitive ($drEui$). On the other hand ($dr\partial i\bar{t}h$) is, of course, a new formation from the adj. *dry*.

1) ($au\bar{e}$) in *four* points to ME. \bar{u} (see Luick, *Anglia* 14, p. 286). Cp. also (∂u) in *row* v., *claw*, *chew* (§§ 307, 312, 519).

2) In the Hartland (Devon) Glossary *drow* is given as a verb.

287. ME. *ū* was sometimes shortened to *u*, hence (ɛ) in *but*, *husband*, *mourn*; (ə, u) in *suck*, see § 288.

288. Before labials, where literary English has preserved (uu), as in *bloom*, *coop* etc., the dialect pronounces (əə); also (əə) by the side of (uu) in *crumb*. Also (əə) in *boose*, (mæteri) 'moult' (ME. *mouten*, OE. -*mūtian*), where a labial precedes. *Suck* is also spoken with (əə); (zək, zuk) are perhaps due to literary influence. See Chapter IV.

II. Diphthongs.

ME. *ai*, *ei*.

289. ME. *ai*, *ei* has remained a diphthong; its modern sound is (aai) : *clay*, *laid*, *aid*, *bay*, *gay* etc.

Before *l* and *r* the sound is (aaɪ̯) : *ail*, *fail*; *stairs*, *prayers*.

For (əi) in *raise* see § 49. But (rəiz) may represent ME. *rīsen*, used as a causative (cp. the causative use of *grow*, *stand*, *walk* etc.)¹).

290. (Eɪ̯) is spoken in *bail*, *bailiff*, *jail*, *sailor*, *veil*; *air*, *fair*, *pair* and *stair*.

It should be noted that *veil* and *stair* are also pronounced with (aaɪ̯), *bailiff* with (aai) and that *sail* has (aaɪ̯) only.

The (aai, aaɪ̯)-forms are almost certainly dialectal, so that we are led to assume borrowing from the standard language for the pronunciation (Eɪ̯). This borrowing must be partly direct (as in *air*, *fair*, *pair*, *stair*); but partly indirect: in *veil*, *bailiff* etc. the literary (ei) has been translated into the dialectal (Eɪ̯)²:

291. (aaɪ̯) in *mail* agrees with the standard spelling: both point to ME. *ai*.

292. (ee) is found in *aim*, *bay*, *day*, *chain*, *lay*, *plain*, *plaintiff*, *say*, *survey*, *they*, *away*, *way*, *going*; *key*, *lea*, *sleigh*, *quoin*, *weak*.

On the last five words see Ch. IV.

Of the others some are also pronounced with (aai) : *aim*, *bay*, *chain*, *lay*, *plain*, *plaintiff*, *way*, *away*, *going*.

1) In the Wdb. s. v. *raise* Elworthy says: 'There is no distinction between *raise* and *rise*'.

2) Compare the explanation of (giɐp), § 203.

Some of the (*ee*)-forms are perhaps borrowed from standard English. But it is not quite clear why such every-day words as *day* and *way* should have borrowed the literary pronunciation. It can be proved, however, that borrowing does take place occasionally : *chain* is pronounced with (*ee*) in its technical sense (a weaver's term), but with (*aai*) in its other meaning¹). So also *way* might be a literary borrowing; at least the dialect uses (*raailroedz*) for railways. See also § 295 and note 3.

For the French words a ME. form with *ē* is possible. The Adlington (*iə*) in *reins*, *chain*, *chair* corresponds to ME. *ē* (Adl. § 58, 2). Compare also (*riizən*), a now obsolete standard pronunciation of *raisin* (see NED. s. v. *raisin*). See § 293.

293. For (*zee*) a derivation from the preterite (*zeed*) representing ME. *sēde*, OE. *sāde* is also possible. *Lay* with (*ee*) could be explained in the same way.

294. Elworthy in the introduction to the Wdb. lays down the rule that 'in Teutonic words *ay* has the lit. sound; in French und imported words the sound is much wider (i. e. *aai*) as in *pay*, *play*, *May*, *ray*'. But the list for (*aai*), Ch. II § 174, shows that also 'Teutonic' words have (*aai*), e. g. *lay*, *clay*, *rain*²).

(*ee*) for ME. *ai*, *ei* is exceptional, but it occurs in native as well as in French words.

295. A preceding labial has rounded (*aai*) into (*AAi*) or (*Ai*) : *bait*, *wait*, *weigh*, *weight*.

But we find (*aai*) in *bailiff*, *bait* 'torment'; (*aaiə*) in *fail*, *veil*; (*ee*) in *bay*; both (*ee*) and (*aai*) in *way*, *away*; both (*ee*) and (*AAi*) in *survey*.

The double pronunciation of *survey* strengthens the theory that (*ee*) for ME. *ai*, *ei* is due to literary influence (§ 292)³).

1) Cp. Elworthy's remark (Wdb. i. v. *cloth*) that 'technical terms are less broad than the same word in every-day language'.

2) Ellis in the note to list 5(*aai*) in WSD. p. 34 f. says that 'most of the words are French, though some as *aye*, *lay*, *slay*, *dray*, *gray*, *way*, *sway*, *eight* are Anglosaxon'.

3) It should never be forgotten that the words which form the basis of our rules are scattered through Elw.'s books. If in one book he transcribes *bailiff* with (*aai*) and in another *bait* with (*AAi*), it does not certainly follow that the dialect makes a difference. For it is possible that at one time Elworthy did, at another did not perceive the slight difference between (*aai*) and (*AAi*) after a labial. It may also be significant that Elworthy in WSD., where he treats of the *sounds*, gives (*aai*)

(aai) and (aaie) for (AAi) cannot be literary but the difference between (aa) and (AA) is not always clear (§ 24).

Weight from ME. *wiht*¹⁾ shows the influence of *weigh*, just as in the literary pronunciation (see also Windhill § 93).

296. *Says* and *said* show the same shortening as is found in the standard language.

297. *Faith* has both (aa) and (aai).

ME. oi, ui.

298. Nearly all the words with ME. *ui* as well as *oi* are pronounced with (AAi)²⁾: *void*, *voice*, *oil*, *anointed* etc. But see § 299.

299. *Join*, *joint*, *point* have (əi); it seems, therefore, that ME. (or Early MnE.) *ui* became (əi) in the present dialect, but that in nearly all the words (AAi) has been substituted for (əi) by the influence of standard speech³⁾. Even in *point*, *joint* (AAi) is more usual, and *join* has (AAi), at least occasionally. For *joint* we also find transcriptions with (i) and (ə).

300. In *boy*, *boil*, *spoil* the sound is (wɛi). This can hardly be anything but the labial modification of (əi)⁴⁾. See § 270.

We also have (wɛi) in *good-bye*. But in other cases Elworthy gives (əi) for ME. *ī* preceded by a labial, as in *wife*, *bide* etc.

301. In *bushel*, *crush*, *cushion*, *puncheon* ME. *ui* has been monophthongised, as in standard English⁵⁾.

in many words which have (ee) in the Wdb., which specially treats of the *meanings* of the words.

1) Also (weīt) in Adlington, for which Hargreaves assumes Scandinavian influence (Adl. § 45, 1, e), can be thus explained.

2) *Moist* is pronounced (moo-is); see §§ 46, note (where *moist* may be added to *most*, *thaw*); 275, note.

3) *Hoist* and *joist* also have (əi), but in these words (əi) may correspond to ME. *ī*; in Early MnE., however, *joist* is found in the list of words with (ui) in Butler. (Luick, *Anglia* 14, p. 301).

4) The pronunciation of *buoy* with (w) in Early MnE. may therefore be dialectal, not a spelling-pronunciation (Köppel, p. 50).

5) Not in all dialects; as stated in the first thesis appended to my dissertation: "The Windhill pronunciation (wishin) 'cushion' is probably due to the analysis of *(twishin) into the def. art. (t) + (wishin); *(twishin) might be a development of *(kwishin) [cp. Wright, *Dialect of Windhill*, § 324], which regularly corresponds to *cuisshin* (see NED. s. v. *cushion*)".

ME. au.

302. ME. *au* has become (AA) : *raw*, *awe*, *awl*, *laurel*, *sprawl*.

303. In a few cases (aa) is given : *saw* s., *laugh*, *draught*, *draft*, *sauce*.

For *saw* also (AA) is given; *draw* with (aa) may be a literary pronunciation (see § 319), for the word is also pronounced (drEʋ). *Laugh* and *sauce* have *r*-insertion. On *safe*, *draught*, *draft* see § 304.

304. Before (f) and (v). ME. *au* seems to have become a monophthong, or Mod. Somerset (AA) has been unrounded; the result is (aa) : *calf*, *half*, *draught*, *draft*, *safe*, *safety*¹), also in *laugh*, with *r*-insertion.

We should also expect (aa), not (Eʋ), in *balm*, *palm*, as a labial follows, and in *save*.

305. *Straw* and *soul* have (oo), *aught*, *naught* have (ov). On this deviation see § 25.

306. (AA) in *fetch*ed may represent ME. *faht*, *fauht*; but the form *fot* is also found in ME.

307. *Claw* has a plural (klaaz). In the Wdb. *claw* is given as (kləu) in the meaning 'dung-fork'. It is not clear, however, that this is the same word, as literary *claw*. In ME. texts we find *clowe*, which may mean (kluu), especially when we compare ME. *chowe*, Modern (tshau) for 'chew'. See §§ 286, 312, 519.

ME. eu.

308. ME. *eu* has become (yy) : *blew*, 'few', *Jew*, *Tuesday* etc. See § 244. Also (ryy) 'row s.' represents ME. *reu*; cp. Ancrēn Riwe: *a rewe* and *bi reawe* (OE. *rāw*).

309. *Rule* has (ə), which is probably due to the following consonant (see § 166). (əə) in *beau* may represent ME. *eu*, but (bəə) is probably a dialectal rendering of standard *beau*.

310. For (oo) in *hew*, *ewe*, *sew*; (AA) in *strew* see Ch. IV §§ 516 ff.

ME. ou.

311. ME. *ou* (from older *o* before *h*) has the same sound as ME. *au* viz. (AA) : *ought*, *though*.

1) *Safety-match* (a modern invention!) is pronounced with (Eʋ). This, and also the pronunciation (sEʋf), by the side of the regular (saaf) 'safe', are due to standard English (see § 290).

Brought has (aa). On the ending *-ought* see Ch. IV § 522 ff.

312. ME. *-ōw-* as well as *-ow-* has become (AA) : *blow*, *crow*, *owe*, *know*. *Flow* has both (AA) and (oo); the latter may be due to literary influence, but see § 25. (ov) in ‘*crowed*, *blowed*, *growed*, *knowed*’ may stand for (Av), a sound for which Elworthy had no symbol in WSD., although later on in the Wdb. he used one.

(əu) in *row* v., *row-boat* seems to correspond to ME. *ū*. Cp. *four* (§ 286), *claw* (§ 307), *chew* (§ 519).

For (ryy) ‘*row* s.’ see § 308.

313. *You* with (əə) may be the development of ME. *ȝ*, but equally well of ME. *ū*.

III. Consonants.

1. Vowel-like consonants.

ME. w.

314. Initial *w* has been lost in *wood(y)*, *wool(ly)*, *would*, *sweep*, *swoon*, *womb*, *woman*, *wort*, *who*, *what*, *when*. Cp. literary *ooze* from ME. *wose*; this makes it likely that the *w* has been lost before rounded back-consonants¹). In *woody* etc. it must have disappeared in that case before the vowel was fronted; in *woman*, *wort* probably before it was unrounded. But see § 317, note 1. Of the same nature (not of the same time) is the loss of *w* in *what*²), *when*³).

For the loss of initial *w* in *without* see § 317.

315. On initial (w) in *hoard*, *whole*, *oats* see § 278; cp. also (wɛrAA) and (əərAA) ‘hurrah’.

For (wAAɪn, wæn, wən) ‘one’, and (wAAɪns) ‘once’ see § 240.

Whoop is pronounced (əəp) and (wup); the latter may be a mistaken attempt at a literary pronunciation : just as dialectal (əəd) was literary (wud), dialectal (əəp) might be literary (*wup).

1) Compare the loss of (w) in OE. *hū*, *tū* from older **hwū*, **twū* etc. (Elementarbuch § 464); also in Flemish *oeker*, *oelen*, *Oensdag*, *veroed*, *antoorden* for Dutch *woeker*, *woelen*, *Woensdag*, *verwoed*, *antwoorden* (oe = u).

2) In Exm. Sc. (line 149) *what* is spelt *hot*.

3) (hAn) is used only in the Hill district of W. Somerset and in Exmoor; in the Vale district (ween) is spoken, clearly an adaptation of the literary pronunciation. See p. 25, note 2.

316. Initial *wr-* is pronounced (vr-) : *wreck, wrestle* etc. Occasionally (r) is given, but always by the side of (vr-), so that (r-) is probably literary. Cp. *right* and *wright*, both transcribed with (vr-) and (r-), and § 329. When pronounced emphatically, (vr-) often becomes (fr-), see § 68.

317. Medial *w* is lost in *thwart, athwart*¹⁾, Probably the *w* was swallowed by the following vowel. See § 314.

Loss of *w* in *awkward, consequence, equal, frequent, somewhat, northward, upward* is no doubt due to want of stress (cp. the standard pronunciation of *towards, answer, Southwark, Norwich* etc.)²⁾.

In *inwardly* *w* is not lost; if this is not an oversight the *w* is perhaps due to literary influence.

318. After *l* and *r* medial (w) seems to have become (v) : (AAvis) 'always', with subsequent loss of *l*, (kaarvi-zied) 'carroway-seed', (bElvi) 'bellow', (wAAlvi) 'wallow'. See §§ 406 ff.

319. Although the words in *-aw* are usually pronounced (AA), *draw* is given as (drEʋ), showing loss of *w*, or of OE. *g*.

(drEʋ) is certainly genuine, for the same pronunciation is to be inferred from the spelling *drade* in Exm. Sc. line 135. Cp. the loss of *k* in the preterite *made*. On back-formations from the preterite see §§ 446 ff.

ME. j.

320. Initial (j) has been lost in *ye, yes, yet, yield* i. e. before an *i*-sound³⁾. Cp. the similar loss of *w* (§ 314).

321. On initial (j) in words with initial *ē* in ME. see § 261.

322. On initial (j) in *ewe, humour* etc., see §§ 516 ff.

323. (bægənət) for *bayonet* seems due to some popular etymology. The form with *g* is found as early as the 17th cent. (NED. i. v. *bayonet*).

1) Compare also the spelling *athert* in Exm. C. line 512. This word would seem to show that the loss of *w* was *not* due to the back articulation of the following vowel (cp. OE. *næs* < **ni wæs*, *nyle* < **ni wile*, Element § 464, but these words are usually unstressed).

2) Cp. *vrommart* in the *Ancren Riwe*. In *Adlington* *w* is lost in *-ward, always, pennyworth* (see here Gloss. s. v. *halfpennyworth*), *somewhat* (Adl. § 63).

3) Exm. Sc. line 90 spells '*Isterday*'; cp. standard *itch*, ME. *zicchen*, and Kluge, *Grundriss* p. 1001.

324. Medial (j) is inserted in *laurel*, *borer*. In these words suffix-substitution is possible; see §§ 473 ff.

ME. l.

325. Medial *l* is lost in *folk*, *yolk*, *soldier*, *shalt*, *wilt*, *almost*, *already*, *always*, *yelp*.

In most of these *l* has been vocalized. In *shalt*, *wilt*, *almost*, *already*, the loss of *l* is due to (and also dependent on) want of stress, for (l) is heard in *shalt*, *wilt* when these words are emphatic. (jap) 'yelp' may be a different word from literary *yelp*.

326. The combinations *-alf*, *-alm* have lost their *l*¹), agreeing with the standard language. Only *halm* is pronounced (Ælēm); it is most probable, however, that (Ælēm) represents ME. *helm* (see NED. i. v. *helm* sb.³).

327. (l) is also lost in *fluent*, *April*, *bridle*, *sprinkle*, *trefoil*.

Of these (bræid) 'bridle' may be the regular descendant of ME. *brīde*: (sprængk) of ME. **sprenken*, a blending of ME. *sprenkelen* and *sprengen*.

The absence of *l* in dialectal *moult*, *fault* is no doubt original²).

Pump is transcribed (plÆmp), both in WSD. and in the Wdb., so that it is no mistake.

328. (l) and (r) sometimes interchange; (l) has become (r) in *almanac*, *alphabet*. Cp. (ōrmærik) 'almanac' in Adlington (§ 50, 4) and literary *barrister* < *baluster*. See Gloss. s. v. *hairy-palmer* and § 330.

ME. r.

329. In three words initial *r* has been replaced by (vr) : *reckon*, *right*, *rushes*. The latter, however, is also pronounced with (hr). See § 316.

330. Medial *r* has been changed to *l* in *caravan*, *guarantee*. Compare *paltridge* 'partridge' in Hartland (Devon), and standard *dol(ly)*, *Sally*, *Hal* from *Dorothy*, *Sarah*, *Harry*.

1) Or rather their *u*; cp. § 304.

2) Other dialects also show forms without *l*; see Windhill § 256; Adlington § 65, Note.

For instances in ME. see Kluge, Grundriss p. 1015, to which ME. *oliprance* (also in modern dialects) from Old French *orprance* may be added. In some of the instances, as in *paltridge*, *oliprance* the change of $r > l$ may be a dissimilation on account of the second *r*. For instances in other languages see Passy, *Changements phonétiques* § 331, and cp. Old French *materas*, Mn. Fr. *matelas*.

For the change of $r > d$ see § 373.

331. (r) is often inserted, especially before (sh); see the Gloss. i. v. *ash*, *clash*, *dash*, *flesh*, *smash* etc.; also all words in *-ation*.

(r) is moreover heard in *laugh*, *ought*, *naught*, *daughter*, *sauce*, *spectacles*, *loft*, *jaundice*. See §§ 332 f.

Poach is pronounced (pAAAtsh) and (prøvtsh); the latter is probably the same word as *approach*, or, at least, *poach* has been influenced by it; but compare also vulgar English *procession* for *possession* (Storm Engl. phil. p. 773).

332. (r) is, on the other hand, often lost; especially before *s* and *sh*, e. g. in *nurse*, *purse*, *worse*, *furze*, *hearse*, *worsted*, *mercy*, *parcel*, *harsh*, *marsh*; also in *carpentry*, *earth*, *partridge*, *lard*, *parlour* and in *Fred(erick)*, *February*, *prythee*¹). See §§ 331, 333.

333. The insertion and loss of (r) are clearly due to neighbouring sounds. It is often added before (sh), when preceded by (aa)²), and after a lip-consonant. For instances in the standard language cp. Köppel H. A. 104 p. 46 f., p. 282. To those may be added *kask*. It is true that a dialectal Norwegian form without (r) exists (NED.), but the usual form *karsk* may have become *kask* on English ground with at least as much probability³).

334. Final (r) in *facia*, *hyena*, *idea* is perhaps owing to the ending being taken for the suffix (er). See § 476.

1) Note that in *hoarse* the present dialect (also Adlington, see § 66) has preserved the original form without *r*.

2) For *jaundice* WSD. gives (dzhaarndis), the Wdb. (dzhaandørz). (dzhaarndis) shows that the difference between (aa) and (aar) is slight, for it is no doubt the dialectal form of the standard pronunciation.

3) The insertion of *r* is also common in Dutch dialects, especially before *s*, *z*, e. g. *stoorsion* for *station*, Early Modern Dutch *hersch* for *esch*, *birzen* for *bijzen*.

ME. n.

335. The (n-) of *awl*, *egg*, *wood*¹⁾, *oration*, *uncle* is the remnant of the article. (niif) 'if' regularly corresponds to ME. *nif* (Gothic *niba*), or possibly represents 'and if'.

(æg) is explained by Elworthy as 'nag'; but meaning as well as sound (see § 210) allow of derivation from *eggen* (cp. MnE. *to egg on*). But *n* has really been lost in (ææz) 'noose'.

336. After lip- and lip-teeth-consonants *n* becomes (m) : *fourpenny*, *halfpenny*, *even*, *evening* a. o.

Before (k) the consonant has also been assimilated, to (ng) : (pængkiæk) 'pancake'²⁾.

In a few words *n* has become *l* : *chimney*, *reckoning*, *omnibus*³⁾.

337. Final unstressed *n* was lost in ME. Hence (əiær) 'iron', (oop) 'open', (brook) 'broken'⁴⁾. Also *stone* is sometimes pronounced without a final (n); see § 466.

On the insertion of (n), as in W. Som. *immediately*, see Logeman, *Taal en Letteren* May 1904, and E. Stud. 34. Cp. also (sosindzhæz) 'sausages' in the Adlington dialect (Adl. § 68, where a reference is given to a note on this *n*-insertion by Jespersen, E. Stud. 31).

ME. ng.

338. Medial *ng*, pronounced (ng-g) in ME., has always become (ng) between vowels : *angle*, *mangle*, *finger* etc.

Before consonants the sound has remained (ng-g) : *angry* etc. Hence (ng-k) in *amongst*.

Unstressed *ng* has been lost in (wɛlliten) 'Wellington'.

339. Final *ng* has become (n) in unstressed syllables : *reckoning*, *standing*, *farthing* etc.

1) (næd, nyd) is only used in the phrase (thik æz ɛ næd) 'so thick as a wood'. On the form of the article see § 126.

2) Compare also standard English *concubine*, *conglomerate* and some more *con*-words, also *to encase*. As a rule, however, standard English shows no assimilation; most words have (kon-, en-), not (kong-, eng-), at least in careful speaking. The assimilation is probably more usual in the dialect, but there are no *con*-words in the Glossary and the words with *en*- lose their first syllable.

3) Cp. also *yeaveling* 'evening' in the 18th century Glossary by Devoniensis, published in the Exm. Sc. (§ 261); on the same change in vulgar English see Storm Engl. Philol. p. 823.

4) See Glossary s. v. *broken-hearted*, *broken victuals*.

340. (bʝm) is not the same word as literary *bung*; compare *bom* in Dutch (see NED.).

2. Labials.

ME. p.

341. *Apricot* with (b) for *p* is not a case of medial *p* being voiced (see §§ 369, 382), for *b* is the original consonant.

342. (tædlook) cannot be the same word as *padlock*. But this transcription may be due to a mistake. At least in the Wdb. p. 868 Elworthy gives the pronunciation (pædlook). In the body of the Wdb. s. v. *padlock*, however, he explains the word as 'the short piece of wood used in forming a builder's scaffold; one end rests on the wall, and the other upon the ledger or horizontal piece of the scaffold'. As the Wdb. gives those words only, which differ in some respect from the standard language, it may be that (pædlook) has also its literary meaning in the dialect, in which case (tædlook) might be regarded as a printer's error.

ME. b.

343. No (b) is spoken in *thimble*, *fumble* etc.; see § 374. It is doubtful if (vʝstld Ap) is the same word as *bustled up*, for it means 'huddled up'. See § 349.

344. *B* has become (v) in *marble*, *disturb(ance)*; see § 348. Note (Amligus) for *omnibus*, (lEʝgl) for *label*.

ME. f.

345. As a general rule initial (f) has been kept only in foreign words. Hence *file* s. is pronounced (vəiɐl), when the word means a smith's instrument, but to *file bills on a file* is (fəiɐl).

There are exceptions however : *f* occurs in the native words *fain*, *fair*, *fare*, *ferry*, *fee*, *filth*; (v) in *flank* (see § 349). With regard to *flank* it is to be noted that three more foreign words are occasionally or invariably given with (vl) : *flame*, *flippant*, *flue*.

Probably *fl* has become (vl) in foreign words as well as native (see § 363).

Moreover, according to § 68, any word usually beginning with (v) may be pronounced with (f) when spoken emphatically: '*Tidn a town, 'tis a fillage, I tell 'ee.*'

346. Medial *f* has been replaced by *p* in *beautiful* (bətɪpəl). Note also (tʃɪrə) 'turf'. Loss of *f* in *fifth*, *fifty*; *fifteen* is transcribed with *f*: (viiftin), but that is probably due to the influence of standard English.

347. Words originally ending in final *f* have levelled their pronunciation under the inflected forms; hence (v) in *calf*, *half*, *staff*, *knife*, *life*, *wife*, *leaf*, *sheaf*, *loaf*, in which standard English still has the double forms, and also in *roof*, *cliff*. See § 365.

348. Final (f) has become (p) in *Joseph* (see Wdb. s. v. *proud*).

Unstressed final *f* has been lost in *mischief*, *plaintiff*, *handkerchief* (but see § 405), — *self*¹, *of*. In one word *f* has been lost in a stressed syllable: (lee) 'lief'; see § 354.

(bEɛli) 'bailiff' corresponds to ME. *bailli*, a French variant of *bailiff* (see NED. s. v. *bailie*).

ME. v.

349. Initial ME. *v* (from French *v*-, and OE. *f*-) has usually been preserved.

Elworthy gives initial (b) in *view*, *flank* 'spark of fire'; see § 355.

On initial (dh) in *very*, *vouch*, *veal*, *vetches* see § 357.

350. Medial *v* has often turned to (w), which when vocalized formed a diphthong with the preceding vowel. Hence (AA) in *navel*, *gravel*, *awkward*. See also *zewnteen* § 351. For literary instances cp. *awkward*, *cowl*, *hawk*, *auger*, *newt*²). *Shovel* has (əu), where *v* has become (w); and (əɛl), where *v* has been lost (but it seems to have raised ME. *ô* to *ō*; cp. literary *oven*, and Windhill (ivə) 'ever', (ivri) 'every', (nuvl) 'novel', (nuvis) 'novice'). See Add.

Navel, *clavel*, *gravel* are sometimes pronounced with (-aɛl), which points to loss of *v*³). See also § 352.

(dryylər) 'driveller' may also be an instance of vocalisation of *v*, but perhaps the word should be connected with Dutch *druilen*.

1) Exm. Sc. line 73 spells *thyzell*.

2) For ME instances see Kluge, Grundriss, p. 1050. The modern Northern dialects also show this development. Compare *doul* 'devil', *dow*, *doo* 'dove' (see NED. s. v. *devil*, *dove*).

3) Exm. Sc. line 136 spells *na'el*.

351. In *eleven, seven, heaven, navy, navigate, savage, eft v, f* are pronounced (b). The form *zewnteen* (Exm. Sc. line 28) makes it probable that these forms are dialectal modifications of the literary sounds¹).

Note (*eendilooop*) 'envelope'.

352. Medial *v* is also lost in *harvest, marvel, even as, fires*. Cp. the spelling *harest* in Exm. Sc. line 31; also *her(r)ust* in ME. (see NED. s. v. *harvest*).

353. For (f) in *cleave, heave, leave* see §§ 446 ff.

354. (v) has also disappeared in *give, forgive, have*²), *lieve, above, serve, -ive* (see Gloss. i. v. *abusive, expensive* etc.).

Cp. the standard forms *has, had, head, ne'er, o'er, where*, however, *v* is not final.

355. *Curve, valve* have (b).

The former may represent ME. *courben* (found in Langland); cp. also *curb-chain*.

3. ME. Dental: th.

356. According to the rule for initial open consonants initial *th* is pronounced (dh).

In WSD. *thick, thief, thin, thirst, thirsty, thirty, though* have (th), but of these *thin* is in WSG. (p. 19) transcribed with both (dh) and (th).

Thirsty is most probably a literary loan-word, for the proper dialectal word is *dry*. *Thirty*, also, may have been influenced by standard English; at least *third* is transcribed with (th) in WSG., with (dh) in WSD. Here again WSD., which treats of the sounds only, seems to give the pure dialectal pronunciation. (thif) may also be suspected for in this dialect we should expect a final (v) cp. § 347. *Thin* is not a dialectal

1) Probably the sound is neither (v) nor (b), but a labial instead of a labiodental *v*, as a labial consonant (m) follows in all cases. (§ 336.)

In standard English *m* in *nymph* in the same way often becomes labiodental on account of the labiodental (f) that follows (pointed out by Sweet, *Primer of Phonetics* § 222).

2) Before a vowel the pronunciation is sometimes (aav); or, before *m, n* (aab), see § 351. It is most likely, however, that these pronunciations (aav, aab) are dialectal adaptations of the standard sounds.

word, but borrowed from literary English, which adopted it from Old Norse.

357. On (th, dh) Elworthy remarks (WSD. p. 17): “*f*, *v* and *th*, *dh* seem to be interchangeable sounds”. This is a well-known phenomenon, in many English dialects and also in children’s English. The interchange is especially easy when (th, dh) are pronounced interdental. When they are postdentals the sounds are apt to become hisses (see § 366 on *moss*), or (in the case of voiced *th*), a (d). Horn, Beitr. p. 92 f. has collected most of the instances of (f) for (th), and (th) for (f) in the modern English dialects. He does not distinctly say, however, that *th* in the Southern dialects means (dh), when initial. I shall complete the West Somerset examples (§§ 358 ff.), and add a few here that I have met with from earlier texts: *nathe* ‘nave of a wheel’ in Fitzherbert’s Husbandry ed. Skeat (EDS.) p. 14 l. 9 (quoted by Elworthy, Wdb. s. v. *ratheripe*), *siethe* ‘cive, chive’ in Tusser (in the South of Scotland also *v* is pronounced *dh* in *cive* : NED.). See Kluge, Grundriss p. 1008. On the phonetic nature of the change Horn, Beiträge p. 93 says: ‘Dass in reiner mundart eine solche gelegentliche vertauschung zweier laute (viz. *th* and *f*) ausgeschlossen ist, liegt auf der hand.’ The position of the vocal organs in pronouncing interdental (th) and *f*, however, and also the acoustic effect are so nearly the same that there is no reason to doubt the possibility of an interchange of the two sounds, not only in the same dialect, but even in the same person. I remember hearing a preacher pronounce (f) in *through*, but not in any other word. See also § 358 on (d) in *thistle* etc.

358. Initial *th* i. e. (dh) is pronounced (v) in *thatch*. Elworthy gives initial (f) in *thatch*, *thirsty*, *something*, but the voicelessness of the initial consonant is almost certainly due to standard English: for *thatch* a pronunciation with (dh) is also given, *thirsty* is probably not dialectal (§ 356).

We also find (dh) for (v): *very*, *vouch*, *veal*, *vetches*.

In *thistle*, *thatch* and in the art. *the* some dialect-speakers use an initial (d); see § 357, and compare *datch* in Devonshire (Hewett p. 70).

359. Initial *th* has been lost in *than*, *these*, *that*¹⁾, *them* (ME. *him*?).

1) *That*, as a pronoun, never loses its initial consonant.

(AAf) 'though' probably represents OE. *of*. It seems to be specially used in the combination *as though* e. g. (tid-n sEem-z AAf ənibAAdi kəd guu dhərzɛl) 'It is not the same as though one could go oneself.'

Initial *thr-* is pronounced (dr-): *three*, *threshold* etc.

360. Medial *th* is pronounced (v) in *lathe*; both (v) and (dh) in *breathe* adj., *rathe*.

After *r* it has become (d): *farther*, *farthing*. Also (d) in *fiddle* (ME. *fithel*).

361. Final *th* is pronounced (f) in *cloth*, *moth*, *sheath*, *tooth*, *teeth*, *health*, *lath*, *mouth* and "other words which in lit. English have a sing. (th), plur. (dhz)".

In *tooth*, *teeth*, *mouth* the final consonant is also given as (dh) and (th). *South* and *youth* have (dh).

Clothes is pronounced (kloɛz, kloz) and (tlaadhɛrz). The former is probably due to standard English, which often omits (dh) in *clothes* (see Storm Engl. phil. p. 384).

362. Final *th* is pronounced (t) in *filth*, *girth*, *seventh*, *plinth*; perhaps also in (leent) 'loan' (cp. *lenth* in Hartland, but see NED. s. v. *lent* s. 3).

For *filth* forms with final *t* occur from the 16th century. This form is perhaps due to substitution of a different suffix. Such forms as ME. *pefte* (< *peffe*) might give rise to a new suffix *-te* (Kluge p. 1008). This explanation is also possible for *seventh* (cp. *fifte* in ME.), and *lent*. See Add.

Plinth from French *plinthe* has a (t) regularly.

(th) is lost in *northward*, *with*, *mouths*. For *with* (wee) cp. *wi'*, *wey* in Exm. Sc. lines 19, 32. For (mɛns) 'months', a pronunciation not unknown in standard English, cp. OE. *weorscipe* for *weorðscipe* etc. (Mod. Lang. Notes vol. 18 p. 241). The loss of a consonant between two others is common in Old English (Element § 533); for (nArəd) 'northward' cp. also the standard pronunciation of *southwester* without *th*.

4. Alveolars.

ME. s.

363. Initial *s* before vowels has been preserved only in foreign words, but even those often have (z). Before voiceless consonants (s) or (z-s) are pronounced but in one case Elworthy gives (zk) viz. *sketch*; both (z-s) and (zk) can only mean that the

on-glide is voiced ¹). Before *l, m, n* both (z) and (s) are given, usually the former.

The present dialect shows several instances of initial *s*, where the literary language does not pronounce it: *scrawl, snotch, snip, splat, squinsy, sprong*, for literary *crawl, notch, nip, plait* etc., also (skwakēti) 'quack' v., (moolder) 'smoulder'. This is a variation well-known in the Indogermanic languages; see NED. s. v. *craunch*, and, for some new instances in English, Holthausen in H. A. CXI and Idg. Forschungen 14.

364. Medial *s* has been voiced in *buskin*, hence (bɛzgin). It has been stopped to (d) in *is not, was not*.

In *reason* the Wdb. (List of common literary words p. 869) gives (reesn), but perhaps this is a misprint, for in the WSD. Elworthy had given (z).

(məslEs) 'molest' is of course due to the first syllable being replaced by the prefix *mis-*.

Medial *s* seems to have become (sh) in *nuisance, license* by substitution of a suffix (-shəns) for the original ending.

365. *This, fleece, goose, geese, hoarse, house, mouse, moss* (see § 366), *noose, price s., puss(y), since* have a final (z). Other words have both (z) and (s): *dose, pace, case; mouse* has (z), *mice* has (s) and (z).

In some of these words, e. g. *this, house, goose, mouse* (z) may be due to the inflected forms; see § 347.

On unstressed *s* compare § 530.

366. *Overplus, nonplus, liquorice* have a final (-sh); perhaps (-ish) is a suffix (§ 469). For (idzh) in *notice* see § 480. *Moss* is pronounced (myyz); the other transcriptions (mAAAs, mAAath) are clearly literary pronunciations; for the interchange of (th) and (s) see § 357, and compare Windhill (sidhəz) 'scissors' and the change of *p* to *s* in Old Northumbrian (Element. § 569).

367. (s) has been lost in *tusk*, after it had become final (§ 395) and could be taken for the plural ending (§ 466).

ME. sh.

368. Like the other initial open consonants *sh* has usually become (zh), but a few words are given with both (sh) and

1) In Ellis V p. 40 Elworthy states that before *k, l, m, n, w* the pronunciation is (z). To (zkiktsh) he remarks 'almost two syllables'.

(zh). Initial (zh) is liable to become (z); it always does so in *shrug*; see also the Glossary s. v. *shriek*, *shrink*.

On *ch* see §§ 383 f.

ME. t.

369. As a rule *t* has remained unchanged. Only between vowels and vowel-like consonants it has occasionally become voiced. Hence (d) in *better*, *bottle*, *little*, *Saturday*, *reticule*, *mattock*, *water*. *About* has (d) before a vowel. *After*, *cutter*, *potato* have both (t) and (d); their (t) is perhaps due to literary influence. On *potato* see § 373.

On this development see § 382; cp. also the ME. spellings *edhalde*, *geade* in the Lambeth ms. (Cohn diss. p. 26).

(bAdəm) 'bottom' may correspond to ME. *boddom*.

Note that medial *t* is not affected by a following *u*: (nEuter) 'nature'.

For (kaapikəl) 'capital' see § 480b.

370. Some words have final (t) added; on the nouns see §§ 473, 481; on the verbs §§ 446 ff.

371. (t) is lost after (p, f, k, s): *correct*, *fact*, *except*, *tempt*, *drift*, *cast*; also in unstressed syllables: *collect*, *architect*, *bankrupt*, *artist* etc.

After other (i. e. vowel-like) consonants (t) has usually been preserved: *joint*, *part*, the suffixes (-ent), (-ment). *Covert* has no (t), perhaps through the influence of *cover*.

Cannot is pronounced (kaan), before vowels as well as before consonants.

This loss of final *t* was not unknown to early standard English; cp. the pronunciation of *bankrupt* without *t* given by Jones (Köppel p. 16) and van Dam and Stoffel Chapters on English Printing etc.

Mist, *misty* are transcribed (mEs), (mEsti) in WSD., but the pronunciations given by the Wdb.: (məsk), (məski) are no doubt the genuine dialectal ones.

ME. d.

372. Medial *d* has been opened in the group *der* just as in literary English. (e.g. *father*, *mother*, *weather*). In *mead* both (d) and (dh) are pronounced; *methe* is found as early as Chaucer.

373. Medial *d* between vowels has in some words become (r): *nobody*, *impudent impudence*, *model*, *eddish*, also in *get*

away (gjʔrɛwɛe). On (tʔɛdi) 'potato' Dr. Murray remarks (WSG. p. 112): the *d* sounded exactly like "a dental or true Northern *r*"; this (*r*) also accounts for the vowel in the transcription (tʔti), with which we may compare (gjʔrɛwɛe).

The change of *d* to *r* occurs in other English dialects: (porents) 'potatoes' (Windhill § 286), and the rule in Windhill § 290: "The *t* in all verbal forms ending in *t* preceded by a short vowel, appears as *r* when the next word begins with a vowel. We regularly say: (amīt im ivri deə) 'I meet him every day'; but (amer im ivri deə) 'I met him every day';" in Adlington (preetɛz) 'potatoes' (§ 74, 7), *ger up* etc., also (anibri) 'anybody' (§ 75, 4); finally in standard *porridge* (from *pottage*).

Passy (Changements Phonétiques § 327) gives instances from the dialect of Copenhagen, Old French (*mire* from *medicum*), and Maori (*Rawiri* = *David*). Dr. Bülbring kindly informs me that the change is "common in certain Low-German dialects, f. i., of Voerde, Kreis Schwelm: *arolf* 'Adolf', *piere* 'Pferde', *bēre* 'Bett', *wēre* 'Wette';" also in the closely related dialect of N. Groningen (Holland), where *bed*, e. g., is pronounced (bEEr). In South African Dutch the plural of *meit* 'servant' is both *meide*, *meire*.

That the transition is easy, is also shown by the change of medial *r* to *d*: standard English *paddock* (OE. *pearroc*), where the W. Somerset dialect has preserved the original *r* (*parik*); also Italian *rado* from *raro*, and South African Dutch *neskiedig* (also *neskierig*) from Dutch *nieuwsgierig*.

Medial *d*, followed by (*j*) becomes (dzh): *immediately*, *obedient*, *odious*. This change is also heard in standard English, at least from fast speakers.

Loss of *d* occurs in *little*.

The absence of (*d*) in *noddle*, *meddle* points to forms without *d*: OE. *hnoll*, French *mêler* (cp. also Windhill *mel*).

374. In the combinations *-rl-*, *-lr-*, *-mr-*, *-nr-*, where the second sound is a vowel-like cons. (if not a vowel: *r*), (*d*) is inserted; see *marl*, *snarl*, *tailor* etc.¹).

(Aler) 'alder' has kept its original form without *d*. *Quarreling* is transcribed without (*d*), but that is probably an oversight, for *quarrel* is (kwAArdl).

1) Hence adj. in *-l*, *-m*, *-n* form their degrees of comparison by adding (*-der*, *-dis*) instead of (*-er*, *-is*).

In *-ndle* (d) is lost, or what comes to the same thing assimilated to the preceding (n) : *candle, handle* etc. See § 343.

375. In *breadth, width* the final consonant unvoices *d* : hence (t-th).

(*gour*) 'goad' shows no change of (d) to (r) but represents ME. *gār*.

376. Unstressed final *d* after a vowel has often become (t) : *ballad, salad, pyramid, orchard*¹⁾, *tankard*¹⁾; also *errand* (§ 378).

Compare *ballats* (Milton), *balad* and *balet* (Cooper in Ellis IV p. 1029), *sallets* (in Shakespeare, quoted by Storm, Eng. phil. p. 822). ME. instances in Cohn diss. p. 24 f. (*hefet* 'head', *meidenhat, pusent* etc.). For OE. instances see Element. § 566.

(*tlaat*) 'clod' corresponds to ME. *clotte*.

377. After consonants final *d* disappears, if the following word begins with a consonant, in *bald, scaffold, land*²⁾ etc., also in compounds like *bald-faced, landlord*; and in unstressed syllables : *mangold, threshold*.

On the loss of final *d* in OE. *anweal, geon* a. o. see Klaeber, Mod. Lang. Notes, 18 p. 244.

378. (d) is added after *mile, foal, fond*. The last word may be literary, and perhaps the two others are mistaken attempts at the literary pronunciation. Cp.

dial. (læn) = lit. *land*

dial. (baal) = lit. *bald*

hence (mæil) = lit. **mild*.

This explanation is supported by the pronunciation of *mild* adj. without (d).

In a similar way (t) in *errand* may be the dialectal pronunciation of the standard sound, but also another explanation is possible (see § 473).

5. Velars.

379. Before front-vowels the velar consonants are palatalized. It seems, however, that the acoustic difference is small, for the same word is occasionally given with both (k, kj), (g, gj), e. g. *calf, call, cart, cat, gas, ghastly*.

1) Note that *orchard, tankard* end in (Et). See § 478.

2) *Beard, beardless* etc., and the suffix (*verd*) keep their (d) as the dialect treats *r* as a vowel (see p. 24, note 1).

On this pronunciation cp. Ellis I p. 206. It is still given by Walker (Storm, Eng. Phil. p. 370).

ME. k.

380. The combination (kl) is in the Wdb. regularly replaced by (tl); it is evident that the peculiar pronunciation was not remarked by Mr. Elworthy when compiling WSD. Ellis (EEP. 4 p. 1325) considered it "very general even among educated people". The sound is given for many dialects in Ellis and may occur much oftener (for the peculiarity is not marked enough always to be heard by untrained informants, and from such most of Ellis's materials are drawn¹).

Medial (kl) remains in W. Somerset; see the Glossary s. v. *inkling*, *kickle*. Cp. standard *brickle*, *brittle*; *crackling*, *cratling* (but *cratling* may be derived from *critling*). The W. Somerset pronunciation (brEuntætis, bÆrntætis) 'bronchitis' is most probably due to some popular etymology.

The change of (k) to (t) occurs also in other combinations however; compare (twiitsh) 'couch'; and for the Windhill dialect see Wright § 324, and also here § 301 note.

Even single *k* and *t* sometimes interchange; Elworthy gives (tik ver tak) 'tit for tat', (tədli wingk, kidli wingk) 'tiddly-wink, an unlicensed public-house'.

These last instances are, of course, onomatopoetic, and show that the acoustic difference between (k) and (t) is often small²).

It is curious that (gl) does not become (dl) in W. Somerset, although many other dialects have both changes from *kl* > *tl* and *gl* > *dl*.

381. Initial (sk) occurs in words that are almost certainly dialectal: (skiit) 'skit' (cp. OE. *scitta*), (skÆr) 'skur', (skier) 'skeer' (cp. Dutch *langs het water scheren* and Hartland *skerry* 'to glide upon the ice'; perhaps also (skiver) 'skewer'.

1) That the transcriptions with (kl) cannot always be correct seems fairly certain from a collection of the evidence in Ellis (Horn Beitr.), according to which (kl) and (tl) would be scattered over the country in the most haphazard fashion.

2) Compare the change of (tju) > (kju) in the Ulster dialect (H. C. Hart, Transactions of the Philological Society 1899—1901, p. 90): *skeward*, *skew*, *cube*, *kune*, *kutor* for literary *steward*, *stew*, *tube*, *tune*, *tutor*.

382. Medial *k* is pronounced (k) and (g) in *pocket*, *equal*. Probably the former pronunciation is due to standard English. See also § 359. *Like*, before a vowel, is (lig), by 'satzphonetik'. Unstressed (k) has been lost in *character*.

383. The dialect pronounces (tsh) in *archangel*, *architect*, *plank*, *cackle*.

In *archangel* the (tsh) is, of course, due to the pronunciation of the prefix in all other words: also in *architect*, which was analysed as *arch* + *itect*. (plænsʰ) corresponds to French *planche*; (tshakl) points to an Old English verb with initial *č*.

Note (tshAler) 'jaw', which has become *jole* in standard English.

384. Some nouns have final (k) for standard *ch*: *stench*, *hunch*, *winch*; also the verbs *belch* and *wince*.

(stɪŋk) may be due to the verb; for *hunch*, *to belch* variant forms with *k* occur (see NED.), also for *wince* v. (see Skeat, Concise Et. Dict.).

On final *t* in *leak*, *bleat* see § 526.

ME. g.

385. On initial *g* see § 379; on *gl* see § 380.

Initial (g) in (gækæə) 'cuckoo' may be due to the old word for *cuckoo* (OE. *gēac*), but (gækæə) is of course imitative.

386. In *faggot*, *spigot* *g* has become (k), but (g) is pronounced in *wagon*, *maggot*. Cp. § 382.

On OE. medial *g* in words like *follow* see § 406 ff.

For (g) in *hawthorn* cp. Wyld, Transactions of the Philological Society, 1899—1901 p. 247 ff.; also (*eeg*) in *Adlington* (§ 35, 1 Note).

ME. h.

387. As a rule initial *h* is not pronounced in the dialect. In a few cases both pronunciations, with and without *h*, are given (*but in different books*); in a few others *h* only: *handkerchief*, *heave*, *hazel*, *harsh*; *hail*, *hay*, *hope*. In most of these the transcription with (h) is probably due to the spelling or the standard pronunciation.

Initial *h* is not impossible in the dialect, however. It is quite common when a word is pronounced emphatically. In

such circumstances it is also heard when a word usually begins with a vowel; hence we find (h) in *active*, *ignorance*, *ugly*, *odious*; also in *article*, *artist* where the emphasis may be due to the word being unfamiliar to dialect-speakers. Cp. Elworthy's remark, quoted in § 397.

388. The combination *-ht* is pronounced (ft) in *ought*, *draught*. On *brought*, *daughter*, *thought*, (n)*aught*, without (f) see Ch. IV §§ 522 ff.

389. Final ME. *h* has occasionally become (f), sometimes it is entirely lost.

(f) is pronounced in *cough*, *dough*, *slough*, *though*, *tough*, *laugh*. In *cough*, *slough*, *tough* literary influence is possible. But (f) in *dough*, *though* cannot be suspected (cp. moreover the spelling *thofe*, quoted by Gasner p. 111). Also (f) in *sigh* v.

The consonant has disappeared in *bough*, *enough*, *plough*, *slough*, *trough*, *through*. These forms are probably genuine dialectal pronunciations. As to (plEu), note that the word means 'team'; for literary *plough* see the Glossary s. v. *sull*. And (ædzh-tro, -trA) 'ditch or drain at the side of a hedge' shows that *trough* also is dialectal.

There is a third pronunciation, with (-k): *hock*, agreeing in its final consonant with the standard pronunciation.

The forms in other dialects and the remarks of the Early MnE. grammarians on final *-h* have been collected by Horn, Beiträge. It is difficult, however, to account for the threefold development. Köppel (H. A. 104 p. 36 ff.) explains the forms without loss of *h* from the inflected forms, but that does not account for *through*; *through*, however, may have lost its *h* before vowels first, afterwards in all positions. *Hock* is explained by the NED. from the compound *hōhsinu*; but (k) occurs in other forms also, e. g. *fleck*, *fleak* 'flea' (Horn, Beitr. p. 73).

Metathesis.

R.

390. Transposition of praevocalic *r* is very common, see § 66.

Some words keep *r* in the same position as standard English: *risk*, *Christmas*, *grid-iron*, *grill*, *prince* etc. Occasi-

onally pronunciations with and without transposition are given: *brindle*, *crush*, *crust*, *fringe*, *rich* a. o.

It seems most likely that the words without *r*-transposition are influenced by the standard pronunciation,

391. Postvocalic *r* has become praevocalic in *urn*, *birthday*. Elworthy points out that the word 'tay-run' is probably a mistaken attempt at standard English; note that a *tea-urn* is a 'mark of gentility'.

L.

392. *Needle*, *world* have their *l* transposed : (niɛl), (wɛɾdl). Cp. the ME. forms *neld*, *wordle* (Kluge Grundr. p. 1016).

S.

393. *Sk*, *sp* have become *ks*, *ps* in (aksn) 'ashes', *ask*, *aspen*, *clasp*, *gasp*, *hasp*, *wasp*, *crisp*. Also transposition in (haals, hAAals) 'hazel'. Cp. the transposition of *s* in OE. (Elem. § 520).

394. In some words (k) seems lost after *s* : *task*, *desk* and also usually (invariably before consonants) in *cask*, *flask* etc. These forms are perhaps due to the standard pronunciation.

395. In *rasp*, *tusk*, *wisp* the *s* is lost. (rEɛp) shows that the present dialect had the form *rāpen* (see NED. s. v. *rape* v.³, and *rape* s.³). *Tusk* would regularly be *tuks* (cp. OE. *tuxas*), which, if taken for a plural (see § 466), would become (tʔɛk). (wəip) is clearly a different word from literary *wisp*; (see Glossary).

IV. Unstressed Syllables.

Stress.

396. Elworthy does not specially treat of stress. As far as can be gathered from his materials, however, the dialect agrees on the whole with the standard language.

397. Compounds often have level stress, e. g. *newfangled*, *open-hearted*, *sweetheart*, *malt-house*, *dust-house*, *hoard-apples*, *skew-fashion* (Gloss. i. v. *askew*), *well-bred*, *thoroughbred*, *dead-alive*, *fourfoot*¹).

1) Level stress in *portmanteau* (pAs'mæn'l) and *dragoon* (dræg'gæən') is clearly due to popular etymology; (pAs'mæn'l) suggests 'post-mantle'.

Words with the prefix *re-* have level stress: *reserve*, *repeat*, *retire*, *resign* etc. Elworthy (Wdb. s. v. *re-*) remarks:

"The vocabulary is very small in these words, and that, coupled with the fact that the speakers feel them to be 'fine' words, causes them always to be emphasized on both syllables." See also § 401.

Words with other prefixes are also given with level stress, e. g. *indebted*, *mistrust*, *survey* v. s., *contract* v. s.; see also Glossary s. v. *digested*.

398. But sometimes compounds seem to have uneven stress: not only *French-nut*, *overplus*, *decoy-duck*, *home-stead*, *saw-pit*, *cock-light*, *forehead*, where Elworthy omits the stress-mark¹⁾ but also *fortnight*, where the vowel proves weak stress²⁾.

399. The prefixes *mis-*, *con-* are not marked with stress in *mislead*, *mislay*, *conduct* v. and s. (cp. §§ 397, 401 ff.).

The prefix *in-* must have been unstressed in some words, for it is lost in *inquest* (kwæs) etc. (see § 415).

400. In the following words the dialect deviates from standard English stress: *a'cademy*, *a'ccept*, *adverti'sement*, *po'lice*, *almo'st*, *di'gestion*.

On the shifting of stress in diphthongs, see §§ 516 ff.

(i).

401. (i) is pronounced

in the prefixes *be-*, *de-*, *dis-*, *pre-*, *re-*.

in the suffixes *-ed* (*blessed*, *hatred*, *massacred*), *-ing*³⁾, *-less*, *-et*, *ness*.

It is also heard in *timid*, *splendid*, *rubbish*, *merit*, *spirit*, *lesson*, *jealous*, *necklace*, *Nicholas*, *matrass*, *traverse*, *justice*, *value*, *retinue*, *lettuce*, *auriculus* (see § 408), *suffocate*, *-day*, *chamois*, *ornament*, *propagate*, *sacrament*, *situation*, *occupy*.

Occasionally the sound is lower : (e) or (i), see §§ 402 ff.

1) These cases are not quite certain, for Elworthy as he did not pay special attention to stress, may occasionally have omitted the dot denoting strong stress.

2) For *pent-house* see Ch. IV § 535.

3) Especially in the pres. part. But *farthing*, *pudding* are pron. (vaardn), (pɛdn); in these words *-ing* had no independent function, hence it had weaker stress.

The prefix *de-* is pronounced (dii) in *depend*, *decease* (WSD.); but also, according to the 'List of common literary words' (Wdb.), in *deceit*, *deceive*, *defend*, *default*, *degree*. Of these last words WSD. gives only *deceit* (with *dee*) and *defend* (feen). The Wdb. gives (dee) in *decrease*, *deliberate*, *deliver*, *deserted*, *deserve*.

There is no doubt that (dii, dee), and probably also (di), are due to standard English; the genuine dialectal words have lost the prefix : compare *deceit*, *deceive* with (dii, dee) and *deceptive* with loss of prefix (§ 415). Cp. § 397.

(e).

402. (e) is heard in the suffix *-ness* (*bigness*), *fifteen sixteen* [in WSD., but WSG. gives (i)].

403. The plural of nouns ending in a hissing sound is formed by adding (ez). Only two words, *assizes*, *fists*, are transcribed with (i)¹). This shows that the plural ending has a decidedly weak stress, for the other forms, where (e) is occasionally given, have oftener (i).

(i).

404. By the side of (i) we also find (i) in the prefix *mis-* : *mislay*.

in the endings *-ed* (*fixed*, *enlisted* etc.), *-ect* (*collect* s., *object* s., *perfect*), *-ing* (*concerning*, *shambling* a. o.), *-ling*, (*seedling*), *-(i)on* (*beacon*, *flagon*, *pension*), *-ock* (*bullock*, *hassock*, *mattock*), *-age* (*damage*, *passage* etc.); also in *convict*, *verdict*, *stomach*, *carcase*, *palace*, *verjuice*, *dubious*, *article*, *multitude*, *situation*, *apricot*.

(ɐ).

405. (ɐ) is the natural vowel. Many words with (i, e, i) are pronounced with (ɐ), when spoken with the weakest stress. (ɐ) is given in the ending *-ed* (*knotted*, *indebted*, *planted* a. o.), *-on* (*tenon*, *tenant*), *-ture* (*scripture*, *nature*, *venture*)²); also in *already*, *amid*, *lissom*, *handkerchief*³).

1) WSD. p. 17 gives (səizez); p. 6 (vəistez).

2) (tshɐr) instead of -(tɐr) in *lecture*, *feature*, *future*, *torture* shows that these words are borrowed from literary English.

3) The other words in *-ief* have (i) : (ɐr) in *handkerchief* ought, therefore, to be explained as representing *kercher* (occurring since the 15th cent.; see NED.).

Literary -ow.

406. Literary -ow (OE. -g-, -w-) is usually (-er) : *barrow*, *bellow* v., *billow*, *fallow*, *felloe*, *fellow*, *harrow*, *hollow*, *marrow*, *meadow*, *mellow*, *morrow*, *pillow* (see § 413), *sallow*, *shadow*, *shallow*, *sparrow*, *swallow*, *tallow*, *widow*, *willow*, *window*.

The literary pronunciation represents the inflected forms; the dialectal -er may be an independent development of the same forms (-er occurs as early as the 17th century) but it may also be due to the older standard pronunciation¹). See §§ 407 ff.

407. A few words end in (-i) : *aloes*, *bellows*, *borrow*, *farrow* v., *follow*, *furrow*, *gallows*, *minnow*, *sinew*, *wallow* v.

For *bellow* v. both (bǣler) and (bǣlvi) are given (see § 413), for *mallows* (maalīs).

408. (is) in *aloes*, *bellows*, *gallows*, and (is) in *mallows* may be compared with (raaklis) 'auricula', formerly also in literary English called *auriculus*, (bōolis) 'bolus' a. o. (see § 401). Another explanation, however, is also possible, at least for some of these words; see § 409.

For *minnow* there is a ME. form *menuse*, *menuce*; this might become (minis) according to § 408, or if taken for a plural, (miniz), see § 530; (miniz) might give rise to a new sing. (mini). In the same way we can account for (zini) 'sinew'. See § 466.

409. Some of the words with (i) had an *i* already in OE. : *bellows*, *willow* were in OE. *bel(i)g*, *byl(i)g*, *wel(i)g*, *wyl(i)g*. Thus the W. Somerset (bǣlis) and Cumberland *willy* may be accounted for.

A later (ME.) palatalisation of *ȝ* may explain (-i) in *furrow*, *gallows*; also some forms given for other dialects, such as *sally* 'sallow' (Worcester, Gloucester). On this palatalisation see Kluge, *Grundriss* p. 999; cp. also ME. *dweri*, OE. *dweorg*.

410. The explanation given in § 409 cannot account for final (-i) in all the nouns mentioned in § 407. *Aloes*, *mallow*, *minnow*, *sinew* are not recorded with a final -i, either in OE. or in ME., and such an ending from older *w* would also be difficult to explain.

1) The *present* standard pronunciation (-ou) is no doubt due to the spelling -ow. The regular standard sound would be (-e); cp. (-e) in *thorough*, *-borough*. See Add.

The form *felly* 'fellow' used in Yorkshire is also more likely to be a modern development (as explained in § 408) than the result of an OE. or ME. form with *i*.

411. (-i) in *follow* corresponds to the ending of ME. *folien*, which may be a blending of OE. *fylgan* and *folgian*.

For *farrow* palatalisation of the final consonant (OE. *fearh*) is possible (§ 409).

It is difficult to explain (bAAri) 'borrow' thus, for palatalisation with a back vowel in the preceding syllable does not occur. Moreover, (gjali) 'gallow' from OE. *agælwan* requires a different explanation. Perhaps these forms are new-formations from the forms without *w*, e. g. from the preterites (cp. Sievers Ags. gr. § 408, and Anm. 3, 4, 5 and here §§ 446 ff.).

In two verbs OE. *g* has regularly become *w*, which subsequently turned into *v* (§ 318): (bĒlvi) 'to bellow', (wAAlvi) 'to wallow' (for the ending *i* see § 73).

412. To explain (vaarth) 'farrow' it should be noted that the Wdb. s. v. *carth* explains its meaning as 'a litter of pigs'. This shows that (th) is a suffix (see § 482 b) and that *farrow* has really become (vaar), just as *furrow* has become (voər).

413. Three nouns in -ow show no trace of the ending: *furrow* (voər), *pillow* (piel) and *winnow* (wəm); see also § 412. For (voər) cp. ME. *fore*, *vore* (OE. *furh*).

(piel) corresponds with ME. *pile* (OE. *pyle*).

(wəm) seems to be another word than *winnow*.

The inflected forms are represented by (pələr). Cp. the two dialectal forms for *shade* and *shadow*. It is, therefore, possible that both (pələr) and (piel) are genuine. But it seems more likely that (pələr) is a dialectal adaptation of the older standard pronunciation, especially because the double form is not supported by a difference of meaning, as in the case of *shade* (shied), *shadow* (shædv̥). Besides, (shied) and (shædv̥) also, may be borrowings from Standard English. Compare also the double pronunciation of *bellow* v. (§ 407).

Strong Secondary Stress.

414. The history of vowels with strong secondary stress does not differ from that of the stressed vowels. Cp. (æ) in *architect*; (E) in *orchard*, *tankard*, *expense*; (AA) in *apricot*;

(oo) in *oration*; (yy) in *superb, multitude*; (ʌ) in *conduct, omnibus*; (əi) in *terrify, idea, -like*; (Eʊ) in *female, affiliate*; (iɐ) in *angel, camel, cruel, civil* 'polite' (but not in the meaning 'respectable'), *oval*.

Procope.

415. Procope is as common as it once was in literary English, but it is impossible to lay down rules for it.

The initial syllable is lost in *admire, adventure, agree, bewitch, deceptive, defend, encounter, entice, oblige, refreshment, require* etc.

It is preserved in *afford, agreeable, beyond, deceit* (§ 401) *object* v., *repent. reserve* etc.

Sometimes both forms with and without procope are given e. g. for *against, allow, almost, before*.

There is no doubt that the initial syllable has often been restored owing to the influence of standard English.

Syncope.

415 b. A medial syllable is sometimes lost e. g. in *contrary, several, general*; especially, when the syllable consists of a vowel only: *peony, diamond, violent, violet*.

In the last mentioned instances syncope was also common in standard English down to the 18th century. Such rhymes as *islet : violet* in Shelley, even, may not be due to metrical elision of medial *o* (van Dam, Eng. Stud. 34 p. 89), but it is quite possible that Shelley really pronounced *vilet*. The NED. states that *diamond* is 'very generally dissyllabic in Pope, Thomson, Young, Cowper, Keats, and Tennyson'.

See Add.

Apocope.

416. *Empty* v., *argue, carry, donkey, story, study, quarry* are pronounced without the final syllable. (Emt) 'empty' is the regular form corresponding to ME. *emte, empte* (OE. *æmtian*); (Emp) may be a back-formation from a preterite *emt, empt* (see §§ 78, 446 ff.).

(arg) 'argue' may be derived from *(argi), which would be the regular dialectal form (see § 401); for *(argi) might be analysed as (arg) + (i), the ending of intransitive verbs. This cannot explain (kaar) 'carry' for *carry* is a transitive verb.

Perhaps (kaar) 'carry' is derived from, or at least influenced by (kaar) 'car'. Cp. the explanation of *dirt* 'dirty v.'.

For (stoor, stuer) 'story' and (stid) 'study v. s.' compare Mn. French *histoire* and *étude*. ME. forms of *quarry* without -y are given by the NED.

In the Wdb. (Introduction p. XVII) Elworthy gives some more cases of 'loss of -y' viz. in *dirty* v., *slippery* adj., *icy* adj. But a verb 'dirt' may be a derivation from the noun *dirt* (see above on *carry*). And as an example of 'ice' adj. for *icy* Elworthy gives *ice-cold*, which, of course, is a compound of *ice* s. and *cold*.

B. Accidence.

I. Verbs.

417. The paragraphs on the verb in Chapter I. show that the dialect substantially agrees with the standard language. It is, therefore, sufficient to treat here of those points only in which the two differ.

These points are

1. the inflection of the notional verb instead of its auxiliary verb.
2. the traces of gradation left in the dialect.
3. the peculiar forms of some present tenses.
4. the formation of intransitive verbs by means of the ending(-i).

Inflection.

418. The inflection of the notional verb instead of its auxiliary (*I help loaded the cart*, see § 87) is clearly due to the auxiliary + notional verb being considered as one word¹). Compare in colloquial English *I daresayed*, and such expressions as *I don't seem to be able to do it* (instead of *I seem not to be able to do it*).

In earlier English we meet with the same phenomenon: *I was go walked fro my tre* (Chaucer); *a castell that the foure sonnes of Aymon have do made* (Caxton); both quoted by Einkenkel, *Grundriss*² § 129 δ (p. 1073). See Add.

1) In the same way the position of the adverb before the finite forms of the verb causes adv. + verb to be taken for a whole: hence the split infinitive.

Gradation.

419. The dialect shows still fewer remains of the old forms with vowel-change than standard English. In the WSG. (published in 1877) Elworthy gave a list of old strong verbs that had preterites with vowel-change, twenty in all (these will be marked * in the lists given below). To these he added several verbs in the Wdb. (publ. 1886). These additions have been reprinted in the Transactions of the Philological Society (1898 p. 515—527).

The verbs added in 1886 had not been overlooked by Elworthy when he wrote WSG.; several of them had even been specially mentioned in the earlier work as having no gradation (a. o. *drink, ring, swear, weave*). In his edition of the Exm. Sc. line 366 Elworthy says, in a note, that "*begun* is literary", and that (*bigind*) is the dialectal form; yet (*begʔnd*) is given in the Wdb.

420. Can we assume that the dialect has independently increased the number of forms with gradation? Independent development must be explained either by assuming that the formation of tenses by gradation is a still living means of derivation or that the forms are due to analogy.

421. The former theory is out of the question: the forms with gradation are the remains of a once living means of derivation, which had already been lost in OE.¹⁾ And the present dialect knows the formative power of gradation so little that it invariably adds the consonantal suffix²⁾. This is a clear proof that the consonantal preterites are the only living forms.

422. The second theory (analogy) is possible; in fact it can never be proved that a form cannot be due to "some"

1) For that reason the verbs borrowed from French are nearly always weak. During the MnE. period many verbs lost their vowel-change, but in Present English it has often been artificially restored. Cp. *catch't* in Milton and the 18th century forms *shined, shaked, wringed, winded* etc. (Storm Engl. Phil. II p. 685 f.). The Authorised Version also uses such forms as *shined, builded, understanded*. *Drive* occurs as a weak verb as early as the 14th century, and is still found in Baxter. On present vulgar English see Storm p. 809.

2) This is never done in literary English; such forms as *creep, crept* show secondary vowel-change, no gradation. But we may compare the addition of a plural ending to forms that were no more felt as plurals, in *children, brethren, kine, breeches*.

analogy, but the real question is whether an analogical origin of all these new vowel-changes is probable.

423. When we note that most of the new forms in the Wdb. agree with the standard pronunciation, that moreover some of them (e. g. *hang, bring*) can hardly be other than literary, we need not hesitate to adopt Elworthy's explanation: that the forms are due to the spread of elementary education since the Education Act of 1870.

In reviewing the remains of gradation it will be best to arrange them according to their original classes.

Class I.

424. *ræid	—hroəd, hrAd	—vroəd, vrAd	'ride'.
*ræiz	—roəzd	—vroəzd	'rise'.
stræiv	—stroovd	—vstroovd	'strive'.
*strik	—strǣkt	—vstrǣkt	'strike'.
stræik	—stræakt	—vstræakt	'anoint'.
*vræit	—vroet	—vvroet	'write'.
*dreev	—droovd	—vdroovd	'drive'.

425. (stræiv) was mentioned as regular in WSD.; it agrees with the standard pronunciation (§ 423).

426. For (ee) in *drive* see Ch. IV §§ 498 ff.

427. (stræik) does not only mean 'to apply a liniment' etc., but also 'to apply anything by way of charm (e. g. a wedding-ring) to the diseased part', or merely 'to stroke'.

(strik) is used only in the figurative sense of *strike* (the attention), and may be a back-formation from the preterite (cp. *dig, dug* etc.).

Class II.

428. *kriip, kleep, kroop	—kroopt —vkroopt	'creep'.
*kleev, klEf	—kloovd —vkloovd	'cleave'.

For (ii, ee) in *creep*, see § 265.

429. Elworthy also gives the past tense (kroopəd) and the past participle (vkroopəd), but these forms probably belong to the verb (kreepi).

The present tense (kroop) agrees with ME. *krôpen*; (kroopt) would thus be the regular consonantal preterite. But *krôpen* is very rare in ME.; NED. calls it "an apparent error"¹).

1) If not an error *kropen* may simply be another spelling for *kreopen* (see Bonner Beiträge 15 p. 106, note 4).

It is probable, therefore, that the preterite with the vowel of the past part. gave rise to a new present tense (*kroop*); see §§ 446 ff.

430. (*kloovd*) corresponds with the ME. preterite *klōf*, which may have taken its vowel from the participle *clofen* (belonging to OE. *clēofan*), but may also represent the preterite of OE. *clīfan*.

(*kleev*) is probably the regular descendant of ME. *clēvien* (OE. *cleofian*), although a derivation from ME. *clēven* (OE. *clēofan*) is not impossible (see § 265).

On (*klEf*) see §§ 446 ff.

Class III.

431. **bəin*—*bEund*—*əbEund* 'bind'. So also **grəin* 'grind', **vəin* 'find'.

dringk—*drĒngkt*—*ədrĒngkt* 'drink'. So also *zingk*, *ring*, *ping*, *spring*, *sting*, *string*, *zwing*.

kləm—*kloomd*—*əkloomd* 'climb'.

zwəm—*zwaamd*, *zwəmd*—*əzwaamd* *əzwəmd* 'swim'.

bigiin—*bigĒnd*—*əbigĒnd* 'begin'.

spiin—*spĒnd*—*əspĒnd* 'spin'.

432. With the exception of the three first all these verbs were added in '86 so that they are probably literary (see §§ 419 ff.). *Spin* and *begin* were even expressly mentioned as regular in WSG.

Note, however, that the dialect has (Ē) of the past participle also in the preterite.

433. Only (*kləm*) cannot be literary; it corresponds with ME. *climmen*, which is found in Rob. of Gloucester (Anglia XIII p. 215). The preterite (*kloomd*) represents ME. *clōmb*, so that the dialect has mixed up *climmen* (preterite *clam*) with the preterite *clōmb* (of *climben*). See also § 451.

Class IV.

434. **stEəl* — *stoold* — *əstoold* 'steal'.

**tEər* — *toerd* — *ətoerd* 'tear'. So also *wEər*, *zwEər*, *shier*.

**breek* — *brookt* — *əbrookt* 'break'.

435. The preterite with (*ov*) of *swear* etc. agrees with the standard pronunciation, and is probably not native to the

dialect in some of these verbs. For in WSG. (p. 44, 46) Elworthy mentions *wear*, *swear*, *shear* among the regular verbs (i. e. verbs without vowel-change).

Note that *wear* is originally a weak verb.

In the Wdb. s. v. *abhor* Elworthy treats of (vbAr) 'abear', which is clearly a back-formation from the old preterite with vowel-change (see §§ 446 ff.).

Class V.

436. *speek — spookt — vspookt 'speak'.

weev — woovd — vwoovd 'weave'.

*treed — trovd — vtrovd 'tread'.

*git, giit — gAAAt, goet — vgAAAt, vgout 'get'.

*zit — zAAAt, zoet — vzoet 'sit, set'.

zi — zAAAd — vAAAd 'see'.

*vergit — vergAAAt, -goet — vvergAAAt, -goet 'forget'.

437. In his WSG. Elworthy specially mentioned (weev) and (zi) as regular: it is likely, therefore, that the vowel-change has been borrowed from literary English (see § 419 ff.). This may also be the case with the other verbs, except (zit) which has genuine dialectal forms. For (ii) in (giit) cp. ME. *bigite*. On *forget* see § 472 b.

Class VI.

438. *tEek — tækt — vtækt 'take'.

versEek — versækt — versækt 'forsake'.

shiek — shækt — vshækt 'shake'.

wEek — woockt — vwoockt 'wake'.

*stæn — stæd — vstæd 'stand'.

*eev — oovd — v-oovd 'heave'.

439. The history of these forms agrees with the development in standard English. The deviation in the preterite of *wake* and *heave* is also found in the standard language.

The present tense of *heave* is occasionally (hEft), for which see § 448.

Reduplicating Verbs.

440. æng — Engd — v-Engd 'hang'.

Literary influence on these forms is likely, especially because in his WSG. Elworthy mentioned the verb as regular (see §§ 419 ff.).

Other remains of vowel-change.

441. bring — braat 'bring'.
 dhingk — dhout, dhAAAt 'think'.
 zik — zAAAted 'seek'.
 bæi — bAAAt, bout 'buy'.
 reetsh — rAvt 'reach'.
 vatsh — vAAAt 'fetch'¹⁾.
 zil, sîl, sæl — zoeld, zoold 'sell'.
 tĕl — toeld 'tell'.
 pip — pæpt 'peep'.
 biel — bœlt 'build'.

442. As the ending *-ought* has preserved its consonant in the form of (f) in the dialect (see § 388), the preterites without (f) must be due to literary influence.

Anomala.

443. kæn — kæd 'can'. wæl — wid, æd 'will'.
 shaal — shæd 'shall'. mid, mæd — mid, mæd 'may'.
 dyd — dEd, dyyd, dĕnd — vdyyd, vĕdĕnd 'do'.
 bi — wAAz, wæz — vben 'be'.
 guu, gu } — weent — vguu, vgææ, vgAAAnd 'go',
 gæ, goo }
 mEek, mEk, mæk — mĕd 'make'.
 zee — zEd, zæd 'say'.

444. For the present tense (mid, mæd) see § 448.

The past participles (vĕdĕnd, vgAAAnd) are adaptations of literary pronunciations.

The preterite (dĕnd) is taken from the past participle; (dyyd) is a new-formation from the present tense (dyd); (dEd) may be the regular form (ME. *dide*), but borrowing from literary English is more probable (§ 219 note).

On (uu) in (guu) see § 285.

445. *Dig* (dig), pret. (dĕg) is the only instance of a weak verb that has become strong in the dialect without the additional consonantal ending. But in WSG. Elworthy gave it as an example of a regular verb, so that the vowel-change is fairly certainly due to standard English (§§ 419 ff.).

New Present Tenses.

446. *Cleave* and *leave* are pronounced (kleev), (leev) but also (klĕf), (lĕf); *ping* is both (ping) and (pĕng). Sometimes

1) The preterite is not mentioned.

the present tense has (t) or (d) so that present tense and preterite are identical: *may* and *might* are both (mid, mæd), *force* and *forced* are (furst); so also (hEft) 'heave'; (lAAst) 'lose', (klEnt) 'clench'.

447. In the case of *cleave*, *leave* it is easy to understand that the preterites (klEft, lEft) might be taken for preterites of (klEf, lEf), for the consonantal suffix is the only distinction between present and past tense (except in the few verbs with gradation, which, moreover, have the suffix also). In the same way (pſIng) is a back-formation from the preterite (pſIngd).

448. Such forms as (klEft, lEft), however, might also be taken for the preterites of (klEft, left), for verbs in (d, t) have no ending in the past tense (§ 79). This explains the present tenses (hEft, lAAst, klEnt, mid).

449. The present tenses (kroop) 'creep' and (vbAr) 'abear' may also be in point. The vowels of preterites must be due to the plural preterite and the past participle.

Note that the simple verb *to bear* has no vowel-change in the present dialect.

450. (graaindəd, vtaktəd) for *grained*, *attacked* seem to show that the infinitives are (graaind, vtakt), although the latter forms are not given¹). They could also be explained as back-formations.

451. Some ME. forms seem to have an origin like the W.-Som. present tenses, mentioned in § 446.

In the Lambeth Sermons (Cohn diss. p. 52) we find *sed* for *seggen*; and the pret. *clemde*, past part. *iclemd* is found in Laȝamon (Bülbring Ablaut p. 77). The latter seems to have given rise to a verb *clemmen*, which explains W.-Som. (klöm). ME. behite is clearly a back-formation from the preterite behiht (see NED. s. v.). Perhaps also ME. *quitten* is a back-formation from *quitte*, the preterite of *quiten*. See NED. s. v. *quit* v.

Cp. also literary *ratch* for *retch*, which the NED. explains as a back-formation from the preterite *raught*, comparing *catch*, *caught*.

In two 16th cent. texts (Tottel's Miscellany and Turberville) *quent* is used for *quench* (NED. i. v. *quent*): this supplies

1) Note however that the form (vtak) may have lost a final t (§ 371), which would reappear medially in (vtaktəd).

an exact parallel to W. Somerset (klEnt) for *clench*. Cp. also *to sodden* from *soddened* (for *sodden*).

Intransitive Verbs.

452. Elworthy states that any verb may be made intransitive by adding (i). This suffix is often added after the name of a trade to denote the action. So from (kaafmdr) 'carpenter' may be formed the verb (kaafmdri).

It is clear therefore that (i) is a living suffix in W.-Somerset¹).

453. It is natural to seek for its origin in the ending *-ian* of the OE. verbs of the 2nd conjugation. Kluge (Grundriss p. 1069) says therefore that the OE. ending has been preserved in the southern dialects.

The matter is not so simple however. Kluge leaves entirely out of account the meanings of *-ian* in OE. and (i) in the modern dialects; these meanings are not identical. The OE. verbs in *-ian* are often transitive, and in the modern dialects those transitive verbs have no ending. What we must explain therefore is *when* and *how* the ending came to be considered as a suffix for intransitives. We must assume that the verbs in *-ian*, or ME. *-ie*, *-i* came to be analysed as root + suffix for intransitives.

454. In OE. the principal group of verbs in *-ian* (i. e. those of the second conjugation) were very numerous. Their number was increased by the verbs originally forming a third conjugation. So far all OE. dialects agree.

455. It is peculiar to the Southern OE. dialects that many verbs of the first conjugation with a double consonant in some forms and a single one in others (e. g. *fremme*, *fremest*) developed new forms with a single consonant throughout the conjugation. Hence the *Cura Past.* uses *trymman* and *trymian*, and even exclusively *gremian*, *behelian* etc. (Sievers Ags. gr. § 400 Anm. 2).

Although this ending of the verbs of the first conjugation was originally monosyllabic (hence the spelling *nergan*), we

1) Also in other Southwestern dialects: Hewett Dial. Speech of Devon says that *-i* is joined to verbs and gives the instances *hop*, *laugh*, *tell*, *sit*; but she does not limit the suffix to intransitive verbs.

may conclude from the usual spelling *-ian*, *-igan*, found as early as Alfred, that the ending had become dissyllabic in Southern English (see Bülbring Element §§ 449 f.).

456. In the Anglian dialects, on the other hand, the verbs of the first conjugation whose stem ended in *r* preserved their monosyllabic ending (*-gan*) and the others kept their double consonants. Moreover the verbs of the second conjugation soon began to lose their distinctive *i*-forms, especially in the infinitive and the present participle (Sievers Ags. gr. § 412 Anm. 3).

457. The result of the changes in the Southern dialects was that they possessed a large number of weak verbs, all ending in *-ian*. The remaining differences between the verbs of the first and those of the second conjugation were insufficient to keep them separate. In later ws. texts we find that verbs of the first conjugation pass into the second conjugation, which formed the majority. Hence *nerie*, *nerast* etc., *fremie*, *fremast* etc. (Sievers Ags. gr. § 400 Anm. 3, § 401 Anm. 2).

Thus in the Southern dialects there came to exist one large class of weak verbs with *i* as a distinguishing characteristic.

In the Northern dialects, on the contrary, *i* was so often lost that it ceased to be a distinctive mark of the second conjugation. When, in later texts (see Sievers Ags. gr. § 412 Anmerkungen), the *a* of the second conj. often became *e* there was no clear difference left between the first and the second conjugation. These dialects, therefore, came to possess one single class of weak verbs also, but here the weak verbs of the *first* conjugation formed the model.

458. The result of the great number of verbs in *-ian* was to strengthen the power of the suffix, so that in ME. many verbs borrowed from French adopted it.

459. It should be noted, however, that the ending with *i* was the characteristic of weak, not of intransitive verbs. The verbs of the first conjugation passed into the second on account of the many forms they had in common with the verbs of the second conjugation. It was owing to formal causes, not to the intransitive function of the suffix. Many of the verbs of the second conjugation were transitive, as well as those of the first.

It remains to be shown, therefore, how the *i*-ending came to be considered as a mark of intransitive verbs. We may guess that the cause was the preponderating majority of intransitive verbs among the *i*-verbs, but I do not know that this can be proved.

II. Nouns.

Singular form of nouns of measure after numerals.

460. The use of the singular form of nouns denoting a measure after numerals (Chapter I § 105) is shared by other English dialects; see Windhill § 337; Adlington § 86 e; cp. also (zEbm mÆil) 'seven miles' in the specimen from Christian Malford (Wiltshire) in Ellis V p. 47 line 1. Older literary English also used the singular. For Shakespeare cp. Franz, Grundzüge § 34. Many instances occur in 18th century authors e. g. Robinson Crusoe¹⁾ and in Swift²⁾; also in 19th century vulgar English (Dickens). Present standard English still preserves the singular in the case of nouns of definite number, such as *brace*, *couple*, *pair*, *yoke*, *dozen*, *score*, also *stone* as a noun denoting weight.

The use of the singular is explained by professor Einkenel in the Grundriss (§ 145 α) as due to the form of the OE. genitive plural used after numerals (with the exception of *niht*, *mōnað*, which always remained unchanged in the plural). This explanation, however, leaves unaccounted for the very thing that is most striking: the limitation of the singular forms to nouns of measure³⁾.

1) Cp. Boxes, which might hold about a Pound, or two Pound, at most, of Powder (Rob. Crusoe, Golden Treasury edition, p. 73); about twelve foot (ib. p. 180); about two Pound of fine glaz'd Powder in three small Flasks (ib. p. 196) etc.

2) Often in Gulliver, also in Cadenus and Vanessa (five thousand pound, l. 227), and in the Tale of a Tub (an altar erected about twelve foot, quoted in Chambers's Cyclopaedia of English literature II² p. 137/2).

3) In German and Dutch the peculiarity is also limited to nouns of measure. Now in MDutch many nouns had no ending in the plural (e. g. *baroen*, *steen*, *oom*, *knecht* etc.). If the use of the singular in MnDutch were due to phonetic causes only the limitation to nouns of measure would be unintelligible.

Moreover the plurals which were formally identical with the singular were not numerous enough in OE. to hold their ground

461. This limitation dates from ME. and is still so strongly felt in the modern dialects that the plural is required if the noun of measure is used as an ordinary noun or even if it denotes a variable measure (§ 106 f.). It is clear therefore that the singular is used because the words denote a measure i. e. because they are considered as numerals¹⁾.

462. This explanation agrees with the date assigned to it (§ 461). For in OE. the numerals were still often declined. When however towards the ME. period they had become indeclinable, the nouns of measure followed their example.

Singular form of nouns used as collectives.

463. That collective nouns take no plural ending is common to many languages, and natural; for the singular collective is in its meaning already a plural²⁾.

464. It is difficult to understand, however, why *deer*, *sheep* should have no plural forms, even when taken individually. It would of course be possible to accept the usual derivation from OE. *dēor*, *sċēap* (see Grundriss § 145 b). But the question would naturally be asked why the old plurals *hors*, *thing* etc. were not preserved. It may therefore be safer to assume that *deer* and *sheep* are so rarely used otherwise than collectively that the 'individual' plurals *deers*, *sheeps* were lost (*deers* is found, see NED.; also *sheeps*, in Shakespeare, L. L. L. II 1, 219)³⁾.

465. There is another argument which supports the explanation of *deer*, *sheep* given above.

In literary English names of wild animals, fish and of unfamiliar foreign animals often have no plural (cp. Sweet New English Grammar § 1966 ff.). The current explanation

against the majority of regular nouns. Hence we see that, as early as OE., plurals like *bānu*, *pūndu*, *wórdu* occur (Grundriss § 114 b). It is clear that the forms without a plural ending have been lost except where their function prevented it.

1) For the same reason the preposition *of* is omitted in standard English after *dozen*: *four dozen handkerchiefs*.

2) This is shown by the Indogerm. collectives in *-ō*, which were taken for plurals. And in many English dialects *broth* and *porridge* take a plural verb (§ 111), just as *family*, *crew*, *Government* and other collective nouns often do in standard English.

3) In the same way *swine* is now used as a collective; the individual noun is *pig*, plural *pigs*.

is that all these singular forms are due to the analogy of the regular singular-plurals *deer*, *sheep* etc. This explanation is given by Einkenkel (Grundriss) and Sweet (New Engl. Gr. § 1966).

But this explanation fails to account for the literary as well as for the dialectal usage (§ 464 and p. 110, note 3). It would be inexplicable that the singular form is limited to *wild* animals, and those which are 'hunted because of their usefulness to man, or taken in considerable numbers, but not when they are killed only in self-defence or as vermin' (Sweet § 1968).

When we consider, however, that 'wild animals that are hunted because of their usefulness' are usually found in numbers, as well as *deer* and *sheep*, that *horses* on the other hand are much more like individuals to man, we need not hesitate to conclude that the singular form of all these nouns is *exclusively* due to their collective meaning¹).

New Singulars.

466. Several singulars are clearly back-formations from plurals, or singulars taken for plurals on account of their final *s*. So (mæthedis, minis, shamis) were taken for plurals, hence the new singulars (mæthedi) 'methodist', (mini) 'minnow' (§ 408), (shami) 'chamois'.

Cow is pronounced (kEu) and (kEi); the former is no doubt due to standard English, (kEi) is the real dialectal word. Probably (kEi) is a back-formation from the plural *kine*. In the same way (stoo) may have been formed from (stoon, stoen) taken for a plural (especially because *stone* as a noun of measure does not take -s after numerals: § 105), see § 337.

Compare also §§ 273, 367, 395, 408 (*sinew*). These back-formations are common in standard English also. Kluge (Grundriss p. 1058) gives a list of them, to which may be added *bridle*, *chick*, *kickshaw*, *anana* (rare, cp. NED. s. v. *ananas*), *bat* (see NED. s. v. *batz*); also Scotch *diocy* 'diocese'; and vulgar English *chay* 'chaise', *Chinee* 'Chinese', *shimmey* 'chemise'.

1) Only so can we understand the use of the singular form for *cannon* etc. (Sweet New Engl. Gr. § 1970), and of *leaf* in its technical sense of 'the green leaves of the tea-plant' (NED. i. v. *leaf*).

III. Pronouns.

Demonstrative Pronouns.

467a. The demonstrative pronoun (*dhik*) is probably the descendant of ME. *thilk* (OE. *þyle*).

The addition of *here* and *there* is also found in 18th century English, and in modern vulgar (or perhaps colloquial) English.

Personal Pronouns.

467b. The form (*ʋ*) for unemphatic 'he, she' represents ME. *he*, *heo*.

The unemphatic objectives of the personal pronoun of the third person are peculiar.

(*ʋn*) may represent OE. *hine*. It is spelled *un* in Tom Jones (Book VI Ch. X).

The plural form (*ʋm*) may be OE. *him*, *heom*; but it is possibly an unemphatic form of *them* (§ 359).

(*mʋn*) occurs as *mun* in Exm. Sc. (line 224), as *min* in Exm. Courtship (line 419). In ME. (Sir Firumbras) we have *hymen*, *hemen*, in OE. *heoman* (once)¹.

The use of the original objective forms as unemphatic nominatives is well-known, also in vulgar English (see Storm, Eng. phil., Wortregister s. v. *Pronomen*). Cp. also the use of 'ons' for *we* in South African Dutch.

Indefinite Pronouns.

467c. (*Ǽdher*, *nǼdher*) originally referring to one out of two only are used in the present dialect without that limitation; they still show their original meaning, however, by being used only before class-nouns. The NED. gives an example of *ahwæðer* in the sense of 'any' from the Ags. psalms (NED. s. v. *either* adj. 4c; see also 2c).

1) The explanation of ME. *hemen* given by Dr. Murray (NED. s. v. *hemen*): *hem* + plural ending *-en* (cp. Mn. German *ihnen*) does not account for the stress, which has clearly been on the second syllable since the 14th century. Dr. Heuser's suggestion (Bonner Beitr. 12) that it is a W. Frisian loanword seems hardly probable.

IV. Derivation.

Suffixes.

(-ens).

468. (-ens) is used in *annoyance, disturbance, extravagance, maintenance*; with *r*-metathesis (-erns) in *encumbrance, hindrance, ignorance, remembrance*.

Several of these words are probably borrowed from literary English (see § 481), so that it becomes doubtful whether the suffix is really dialectal. But (teenens) 'attendance' can only be explained as a formation from the dialectal (teen) 'attend' by means of the suffix (ens)¹). This proves that (-ens) is a living suffix in the dialect.

(-ish).

469. (-ish) denotes 'inclining to a quality'; it specially forms derivations from adjectives: (gædish, bEedish, oældish, begish, smaaldish, liidlish) from *good, bad, old, big, small, little*²).

Derivations from nouns occur (AAsish, roogish, bwEi-ish) from *horse, rogue, boy*. But nouns usually take the suffix (-lœik), see § 470.

(-lœik).

470. (lœik) is often used where literary English has *-ly*. See §§ 119, 120.

The dialect also uses it for literary *-ish*: (bwEilœik) 'boyish', (gærdl-lœik) 'girlish'. See § 469.

The ending (-li) in dialectal *winterly, weekly*, might therefore be taken for a literary borrowing; but (akli) 'actually' seems to be a formation from dialectal (ak) 'act'. This form would seem to show that the suffix (-li) is really dialectal.

We may say therefore that (-lœik) is a suffix to form 1° adverbs³) 2° semicompounds, meaning 'like unto'; (-li) is used to form adjectives from nouns, such as *weekly, actually*.

(-lis).

471. (lis) is often used where literary English has *-some*: (veentærlis) 'venturesome', (kEæmberlis) 'cumbersome'; also (jEæmberlis) which Elworthy explains as 'humoursome'.

1) (teendens), the pronunciation given in the Wdb., is no doubt the dialectal adaptation of literary *attendance*.

2) Note that (Eæblish) from *able* means 'strong, active, inclined to work'.

3) It is also added to *after, rather, almost, much* etc.

472 a. (sum) is rare in the dialect : (ænsʊm) 'handsome'; (lɪsʊm) 'lissome'.

The words in *-some* are often replaced by participles in (-in) : (vrAlɪkɪn) 'frolicsome', (trʌblɪn) 'troublesome', (mædɪn) 'meddlesome', (təɪərɪn) 'tiresome', (kwAArdɪn) 'quarrelsome'.

See also § 471.

Prefixes.

(bi-).

472 b. The prefix *be-* is often used in the present dialect where literary English has other prefixes or none: (bɪɡɪt) 'forget', (bi-ʌp) 'perhaps', (bɪkjaal) 'nickname, abuse', (bi-ooʔ) 'hope', (bɪnoo) 'understand, acknowledge', *bemean* 'disgrace', *bepity* 'commiserate'.

(dis-).

472 c. *Di-* in *digestion* etc. has been taken for a prefix; the dialect uses *dis-*; hence (dɪsdzæstʃn) 'digestion', (ɪndəsdzæstʃn) 'indigestion'. These pronunciations are probably adaptations of standard English words; the dialect also uses (dɪɪdʒhæs) for *digestion*.

(məs-).

472 d. The prefix *mis-* is used in (mɪsləɪk) 'dislike'. It has been substituted for the first syllable of *molest*, hence (mɪslɛs).

Substitution of suffixes¹).

(-vnt).

473. (-vnt) is substituted in *foreign*, *violet*, *lion*, perhaps also in *errand* (§ 378)².

Cp. § 481 on the suffix (-mɛnt).

(-vɪr).

474. *Shepherd* is pronounced (ʃɪpɪvɪr), but *neatherd* has a final *d* : (ni:θɪvɪrd). Perhaps (ʃɪpɪvɪr) is not a compound of

1) In some cases mentioned in the following paragraphs (e. g. in §§ 480 d., 481) we have no substitution of another suffix but simply derivation by means of another ending than the standard language uses. It would not have been convenient, however, always to separate the two cases. Such a course would have necessitated the treatment of *fancical* (which may be a derivation from *fancy*) in a different paragraph from *magnifical*, *capical* (§ 480 b). See also § 472 c and d.

2) *Errant* is a common spelling in older literary English; in Swift we find it rhyming with *aware on'-t* (*Baucis and Philemon* l. 42).

sheep and *herd*, but a derivation from *sheep* by means of the suffix (-*er*); cp. Dutch *schep* by the side of *schaapherder*. The proper name *Shepherd*, however, is also transcribed (*shəper*), in Ellis V p. 150, comparative specimen l. 13.

The form (*shiper*) seems to have given rise to the noun (*ship*) 'shepherd's dog'; this shows that (*shiper*) is not felt in the present dialect as a derivation of *sheep*, which has moreover (i) not (*i*).

475. The pronunciation (*kiinder*) 'kindred' by the side of (*kiinderd*) is perhaps also due to the analysis of the word in root + suffix.

476. (-*er*) has been added to *druggist* (*drugister*). *April* (*Eper*) may have (-*er*) by the analogy of other names of months in -*er*.

(-*er*) in *facia*, *hyena*, *idea* is probably not a case of substitution of another suffix but of insertion of *r* on account of the preceding vowel, as in the colloquial pronunciation of *idea(r)* *of*.

(-*erd*).

477a. (-*erd*) in *scholar*, *liar*, *millar*, *worsted*, *halfpennyworth* is due to a change of suffix.

(-*erd*) has been added to *dead-alive*.

See § 478.

(-*eri*).

477b. *Moult* is pronounced (*mæteri*). This suffix is probably derived from intransitive verbs in (-*i*) formed from agent nouns, such as (*kaafmideri*) 'to be a carpenter', (*taaielderi*) 'to be a tailor', (*dAAakteri*) 'to be a doctor' etc. (§ 452).

(-*et*, -*Et*).

478. (-*Et*) is substituted for -*ard* in *orchard*, *tankard*¹). It is also pronounced in *pyramid* (see § 481).

(-*et*).

479. (-*et*) in *ballad*, *salad* may be due to phonetic causes (§ 376) but it is also possible that the change is owing to a substitution of the suffix (-*et*) for the original ending. See NED. s. v. *ballad*.

¹) These two words are also pronounced with (-*et*).

Cp. also (-et) in *tenon*, *tenant*, *dimmet* 'dusk', (*dringet*) 'dringet, press, crowd'.

(-idzh, -idzh)¹⁾.

480a. *Notice*²⁾ is pronounced (nootidzh); this suffix is also found in *rubbish*²⁾ (rɛbidzh). Compare (idzh, idzh) in *advantage*, *baggage*, *cabbage*, *carriage*, *damage*, *marriage*, *tillage*, *village*.

(ikɐl).

480b. The suffix (-ikɐl) is common in the dialect, cp. *fancical* 'tasteful' *magnifical* 'magnificent'. It has also been substituted for the two last syllables of *capital*, hence *capical*.

(-jɐl).

480c. In a few words the literary ending -el is replaced by (-jɐl) : *forrel* (fArjɐl)³⁾, *sorrel* (sArjɐl). On the other hand *spaniel* is pronounced (spænɪ).

(-iɛr, -jɛr).

480d. The suffix (-iɛr, -jɛr) is used to form names of agents from nouns, as in literary English, e.g. *lawyer*, *sawyer* etc. But in the present dialect it is also used to form names of agents from verbs, where literary English uses -er : cp. Gloss. s. v. *borer*, *hauler*, *liver* 'inhabitant', *lover*, also *carrier* (the verb is *to car* in the dialect).

(-mɛnt).

481. (-mɛnt) is clearly dialectal; it is not only found in *ejectment*, *engagement*, *encroachment* etc. but is also used where literary English has other endings: in *signature*, *opening*, *acquittance*, *lodging*, *ability*, *bickering*, *doment*, *hindrance*.

The ending is substituted in *sermon*, *vermin*, *pyramid*. In *diamond* final *t* is original.

(-tri).

482a. (kaalvɛtri) 'cavalry' seems to show that -try in *infantry* was taken for a suffix.

1) The Wdb. gives (idzh), WSD. (idzh).

2) (noʊtis) and (rɛbɪʃ) are of course due to standard English.

3) The stressed vowel in *forrel* would regularly be (ɛ), cp. O. French *fourrel*. (fArjɐl) is probably an adaptation of standard (fArɛl), which is a spelling-pronunciation [instead of the regular *(fɛrɛl)].

(-th).

482 b. The suffix (-th) is used to form abstract nouns and collectives.

Abstract nouns are derived from adjectives e. g. (dræith) 'thirst' from *dry*, by the side of (drEuth); *height* (æith) from *high* (æi); (diipth) 'depth' from *deep*; (lyyth) 'shelter' from (lyy) 'lew, sheltered'; (diærth) 'dearth'. The absence of shortening of the vowels shows that (-th) is a living suffix. It is also known in other dialects; for Hartland (Devon) we find *blooth* 'bloom, blossom', *deepth*, *lewth*, *dryth* and *drowth*; cp. also (bunkth) 'bulk' in Windhill.

Elworthy gives two instances of collectives formed by means of (-th) from nouns: (voeth, vueth) 'a number of furrows ploughed up round a field with which (i. e. with whose soil) lime or other manure is mixed to be spread over the land'¹), also 'the end of a furrow where the plough runs out', and (vaarth) 'a litter of pigs' (§ 412).

Standard English also has many new-formations with the suffix -th: *length*, *strength* (OE. *lengu*, *strengu*), *warmth*, *growth* etc. (see Sweet New English grammar § 1599).

1) Compare: Take in a voth zix or eight vores wide.

CHAPTER IV.

Some Problems of Historical Grammar.

On dialectal and literary (ii) for ME. *i*.

483. Contrary to the rule for ME. *i* laid down in § 218, (ii) is spoken in *if, gifted, live, cliff, forgive, sieve*. See also §§ 498 ff.

484. In *if* (ii) may be due to the preceding consonant, which has been absorbed by *i* (ME. *zif*); the vowel in consequence became long.

In the case of the other words it may be significant that in all of them (ii) is followed by a (v), except in *forgive, gifted*, which may have adopted the vowel of *give*. Other dialects also show a sound usually corresponding with ME. *ē* in *live, give* (Luick § 395).

485. Prof. Luick has collected all the cases where ME. *i* is represented by a modern sound which usually corresponds to ME. *ē*. His conclusion is that ME. *i* in open syllables was lengthened to ME. *ē* in the Northern dialects. This theory has not met with general approval¹).

486. The standard (ii) forms which Luick wants to explain by this theory are *beetle, gleed, speir, week, weet, weevil*²). We may perhaps add *screech* and *beaker* (also spelt *beeker*).

1) On this question see Luick's *Unters.*, Morsbach (H. A. 100), Sarrazin (ib. 101), Luick's answer to both (ib. 102, 103). Dr. Köppel has further shown that a form "pointing to ME. *ē*" occurs in the southern river-name *Creedy* (see Luick's remark on the value of geographical names, *Unters.* § 535 a). Cp. further Heuser, *Eng. Stud.* 27. But see Preface.

2) A few more doubtful cases are treated by Luick, *Unters.* §§ 533 ff.

Of these words *weet* is only found in Spenser and that hardly excludes the possibility that it is dialectal. *Gleed* and *speir* are dialectal words. The only really literary instances are therefore *beetle*, *week*, *weevil*; *screech*, *beaker*.

487. The forms in § 486 are explained by Luick as borrowings from Northern dialects. Luick has omitted, however, to show that these words are really so pronounced in the North.

Now *gleed* is pronounced *gled* in Scotch; *weet* in Northern English is *wit* and *beaker* in Scotch is *bicker*.

This does not indeed prove that the (ii) forms cannot be Northern but it proves that Luick should have shown from which Northern dialects the forms may have been introduced into literary English.

488. Moreover the possibility should be considered that the (ii) pronunciations were adopted from a Southern dialect. The dialect of W. Som. at any rate pronounces (ii) in *screech*; and if we accept *weet* as a literary pronunciation we may explain it as a Southern borrowing, for our dialect pronounces (ii).

489. If we accepted Luick's theory (§ 485) we should have to extend the development (of ME. *i* to ME. *ē*) to the Southern dialects and also to closed syllables¹). But the development has not been shown to be general; nor does there seem to be any rule for the exceptional change i. e. the change is really unexplained by Luick's theory. The explanation put forward by Morsbach is not tenable either. He thinks OE. *eo* (*lean*, *cleap* a. o. which have (ii) in Early MnE.), becoming ME. *ē* may have resulted in modern (ii) in some dialects; or the ME. sound may have been *ê*, which would regularly become (ii) in most dialects.

Neither supposition is possible in W. Som., for ME. *ē* would have become (*ee*) and such forms as (*leen*) 'lean' show that OE. *eo* in open syllables produced *ē* in ME. See Add.

490. To the words with modern (ii) for ME. *i* Luick has added some where the 16th cent. spelling *ee* seemed to him to prove the existence of ME. *ē*.

Now a 16th cent. spelling *ee* may prove an (ii) pronun-

1) Cp. the Scotch pronunciation with (ii) in *dreel* (see NED. i. v.).

ciation for that time¹), but certainly not a ME. *ē* sound in all cases. At any rate we find *ee* in such words as *deek* for *dike*, *aleeche* for *alike*.

On the diphthongization of ME. *ā*.

491. On the time of the diphthongization of ME. *ā* Cooper (Ellis I p. 70f.) supplies us with a terminus ante quem. He gives 'a longa' i. e. (ææ) or (EE) in *barge*, *blast* etc. but 'a exilis' in *lane*, *pate*, *bare*, *care* etc. Ellis explains 'a exilis' as (EE), but Cooper says: "Post *a* inseritur *u* gutturalis, quae nihil aliud est quam continuatio nudi murmuris postquam *a* formatur nam propter exilitatem, ni accuratius attenditur ad proximam consonantem, sine interveniente *u* non-facile transibit lingua". This clearly means (Eæ). Cooper wrote about standard English, but a diphthongization is not mentioned by other Early MnE. grammarians, so that Cooper may have been influenced by some dialect (cp. § 522, Note).

The change may have taken place in the present dialect about the same time, although that cannot be proved, of course.

492. The second question is: Did the palatal articulation of *c*, *g*, *ch* and *sh* in the So. Dial. affect the following vowel when it was still (aa) or at a later period? Cooper makes no difference between *pate* and *cape*, *gate*, but his pronunciation cannot, of course, decide for W. Somerset.

Words with ME. *ē̄*, however, which have usually (Eæ) before *r* are pronounced with (iæ) after palatal consonants e. g. *shear*. These words have never had (aa): (iæ) in them must have been reached via (Eæ). Possibly ME. *ā* therefore became also (Eæ) and this later sound was influenced by the preceding consonant.

On the separation of ME. *ē̄* and *ē̄̄*.

493. The separation of ME. *ē̄* (OE. *ā̄*, *ē̄a*) and *ē̄̄* (OE. *e* in open syllables) from ME. *ē̄* is not well-defined, and this

1) Horn Beitr. p. 68 f. quotes from Pegge: '*plif* (a plough), pronounced rather *pleaff*'. This suggests that the 16th century spellings with *ee* for *i* were used to show that the *i*-sound was close, i. e. (i), and not the literary (*i*). Cp. also *leefekyes* in Lyly (NED. s. v. *lyfkie*) from Dutch *lijfken*, where *ij* denoted (ii).

makes itself felt in the treatment of the modern dialect, which as a rule still distinguishes the two groups.

494. In discussing the modern dialectal forms we must distinguish between the words with (ii) and those with (iv). Of (ii) it is fairly certain that it corresponds to ME. \bar{e} or i . But with (iv) the case is quite different; apart from the words where it represents ME. \bar{a} or i , it oftener stands for \bar{e} than for ME. \bar{e} . The regular development of ME. \bar{e} seems to be (ee); some words with \bar{e} in ME., however, are given with both (ee) and (iv) viz. *clean, sleep, beat, bead*. (iv) in these words might be due to literary influence, but the description of the sound (§ 54) and its variation with (Ev), see § 55, make it probable that (iv) is occasionally a different appreciation of (ee). Cp. §§ 8 ff.

495. Whether we accept this explanation of (iv) in these words or not (§ 494), it is clear that (iv) is no certain proof of ME. \bar{e} . To reach safer conclusions it will be necessary to limit ourselves to the words with (ii). Even they, however, are uncertain proofs of ME. \bar{e} , for the dialect, which occasionally lowers (ii) to (ee) (see § 21), *might* also occasionally raise (ee) to (ii)¹. Perhaps we shall become less sceptic, however, when we consider that the (ii) is supported by evidence independent of the dialectal pronunciation.

496. The words that have (ii) are *deaf, leaf, shred, instead, beam*; (i) in *heap*.

For *deaf* (ii) is also given by the Expert Orthographist, and the NED. quotes from an 18th century poet the rhyme *deaf: relief*. In connection with these data the 16th century spelling *deefe* may be worth quoting.

For *leaf* there is a 16th century spelling *leefe*, which may point to ME. $l\bar{e}f$.

For *instead* Jones gives (ii), although he usually gives (ee) for ME. \bar{e} . In the dialect of Windhill the word has (iv) which cannot represent ME. \bar{e} nor \bar{e} .

1) *Snead* is pronounced (sniid, zniəd). The ME. form probably had \bar{e} (cp. the related OE. *snīdan*). Also *steen* (stiin) had \bar{e} in ME. As these two words cannot have been influenced by standard English they prove that ME. \bar{e} (or at least the ME. representative of West-germanic *ai + i, j*) has in the present dialect sometimes become (ii).

497. Kluge has tried to account for ME. \bar{e} instead of \bar{e} by assuming i -mutation (Grundriss § 99) but that is impossible in *leaf*, *deaf*, *shred*. Further examination of the modern dialects will probably bring to light more 'exceptions' to the rules for ME. \bar{e} and ME. \bar{e} . Indeed, we may say even now that those rules (ME. \bar{e} in all dialects for Westgermanic $ai + i, j$; ME. \bar{e} in the Southern, ME. \bar{e} in the Midland and Northern dialects for Westgermanic \bar{a}) do not meet the facts in ME. texts any more than they do the evidence of the modern dialects¹). A complete investigation of the English dialects from the oldest times to the present will perhaps clear up the difficulty.

On (ii, ee) for ME. \bar{i} .

498. Just as in many other dialects there are some words in W. Somerset which have (ii, ee)²) although the ME. sound was \bar{i} (see § 271). A list of the words in different dialects is found in Ellis I p. 288 ff. If we exclude the words which in ME. had i (*light* etc.) and those which had \bar{e} (*lie* etc.) there remain *alike*, *dike*, *write*; to these from different sources Luick adds *shine*, *life*, *time* (Unters. § 27). In some south-western dialects (also in Exm. Sc.) *cows* is pronounced *kee* (see NED. s. v. *kee*). See Add.

499. In W. Somerset *alike* has (i) and (i), *dike* has (i). These sounds seem to point to short ME. i . For *dike* such a form has existed: *dick* is found as early as the Cursor Mundi (NED. i. v. *dike*). The verb to *stiffen* (ME. *stīven*) is pronounced (stiiv); it is natural to think of the influence of the short i in *stiff*; for (ii) before v cp. §§ 483 ff. The W. Somerset dialect also pronounces (ii) in *stifle*; cp. *stiffle* in Hartland.

It is clear that the explanation of at least some of the modern forms with (ii) may be that they represent ME. forms with short i .

500. For *drive*, *knife*, *five* NED. gives forms pointing to short i (*dryff*, *dreff*, *knyffe*, *fiffe*) but it is doubtful whether such forms have existed in Southern ME.

1) In the dialect of Adlington e. g. ME. \bar{e} is represented by (ii), ME. \bar{e} by (iæ), ME. \bar{e} by (eī), see Adl. §§ 36 ff. Yet we find (biit) 'kindle', (shiid) 'spill', where we should expect (iæ).

2) For (ee) by the side of (ii) see §§ 21, 265, 271, 495.

501. (*ee*) in *cider*, *china*, *oblige*, *size*, being French words require no further explanation. For French words have often (ii) also in other dialects, not only according to Ellis's dialectal evidence (Ellis I p. 288), but also early grammarians give (ii) : Jones (Ellis IV p. 1012) and later grammarians (Ellis's 18th century Vocabulary) for *oblige*; Bullokar for *guise*; Buchanan (Ellis IV p. 1074) for *china*.

These pronunciations have lasted down to the 19th century and are found (as vulgar English) in Dickens (*Chaney* 'China', *Chainer men* 'Chinamen') and Thackeray (*chany* 'china'). Walker still mentioned (*ee*) in *china*, although with (*ai*) as an alternative pronunciation (see Storm Engl. phil. p. 363). G. W. Russel tells us of a lady born about the middle of the 18th century who said *laylock* for *lilac* (Collections and Recollections, ed. Tauchnitz I p. 12). Even Lord John Russel still used *laylock* and *much obleeged* (ib. p. 26).

On *ambergris*, *verdigris* see § 503.

502. Another explanation seems to be required for (*ee*) in *dive*. In ME. we find the spelling *deve*, *deere*. The NED. explains them as Kentish but the 16th century spelling *deave* points rather to an earlier *dēve* than to Kentish *dēve*. Moreover the forms *def*, preterite *defde* occur in the Marh. legend (Stodte § 15 Anm. 3). The preterite *defde* is probably a blending of *dēf* (preterite of *dūfan*) and *dūfde* (preterite of *dȳfan*). From this preterite *dēfde* the dialect formed a new present tense *dēf*, *dēve* (*f* was voiceless in the old preterite *dēf*, but voiced in *dȳfde* so that both *f* and *v* are possible). A present tense *dēve* would regularly become (*deev*) in W. Somerset.

503. In *ambergris*, *verdigris* also (*ee*) may represent ME. *ē*, for *-gris* in these words often became *-grēs* 'grease' by popular etymology (cp. Skeat Etym. Dict. s. v. *verdigris*).

See also § 273.

On the history of (*əə*) for ME. *u*, *ō*.

504. The development of ME. *u* to a sound that usually represents ME. *ō* is found in many dialects. On such modern forms and on ME. rhymes prof. Luick has based his theory of the lengthening of ME. *u* in open syllables to *ō* in Northern dialects (see §§ 485 ff.)¹. It is not my intention to show that

1) See Preface.

the peculiar development is not limited to open syllables nor to Northern dialects. But in his controversy with Morsbach (H. A. 103) Luick incidentally discusses the history of the (əə) in W. Somerset. That is a point directly concerning this work.

505. Luick reasons thus: In W. Somerset not only ME. \bar{o} and occasionally u but also ME. \bar{u} in *room*, *stoop* have become (əə). Hence it follows that ME. \bar{o} and u must have reached (əə) via \bar{u}^1 .

506. If in W. Somerset ME. \bar{o} and occasionally u had become \bar{u} , thus becoming identical with original ME. \bar{u} , the question arises why that \bar{u} was not diphthongized. The answer that ME. \bar{o} and u became \bar{u} when ME. original \bar{u} was already a diphthong may be correct, but if so we must explain why *room*, *stoop* etc. kept \bar{u} instead of diphthongizing it. It is clear that \bar{u} in *room* etc. was not a pure (uu) in ME.: if it had been, it would have become a diphthong.

507. The pronunciation (əə) in *room* etc. may however help us to find out how ME. \bar{o} and occasionally u have become (əə). ME. \bar{u} in *room* etc. (§ 288) was not diphthongized because a labial followed i. e. because \bar{u} was lowered before labials²). The labial prevented the end of \bar{u} from rising so high that the first part seemed a different vowel.

Now short u is lower than long \bar{u} in English. A lowered \bar{u} and short u would differ little in organic height. And ME. \bar{o} , which in all dialects rose to the high position, would thus meet the lowered \bar{u} of *room* etc. and short u . All three were

1) I may remark in passing that Luick's aim is to show a difference in the history of (əə) in the North and in the South: in the South the intermediary sound was \bar{u} , but in the North that is impossible for according to Ellis's lists *room* has a sound pointing to ME. \bar{u} not \bar{o} (like W. Som. *ræm*). In Mid-Yorkshire, however, *room* has a pronunciation "pointing to ME. \bar{o} ". This form, which is certainly dialectal and agrees with the development of \bar{u} in *room* etc. in W. Somerset, is rejected by Luick and declared to be "borrowed".

2) Compare the same effect of labial consonants on short u , in *some* etc. (§ 240). In standard English also the preceding labial seems to have prevented the diphthongization of ME. \bar{u} in *wound* s. (The diphthong in *wound*, preterite of *wind*, may be due to the analogy of *find-found*, *bind-bound* etc.).

united under a lowered \bar{u} ; this sound was afterwards fronted to ($\partial\partial$), or according to some observers to (yy) i. e. there is even now a doubt whether the vowel is high or mid. This agrees perfectly with its origin : a *lowered \bar{u}* .

The fronting of (uu), although organically a great change, does not make an important acoustic difference. For we find both (uu) and ($\partial\partial$) for *crumb* (§ 288) and *above* (§ 248); both (ue) and ($\partial\partial$) in *court* (§ 248). And in the Wdb. s. v. *moor* s. Elworthy remarks on the pronunciation (ue) as in *boar*, *door*, *more* etc. that it 'is almost ($b\partial\partial r$, $d\partial\partial r$)'. In standard English also (juu) often approaches (jyy), especially in unstressed syllables. According to Jespersen (quoted by Western Engl. lautlehre p. 8) the change also occurs in stressed syllables e. g. ($kyyri\partial s$) for ($kju\partial ri\partial s$). It is probable, however, that the sound is mixed, not front.

508. Phonetically therefore the explanation given in § 507 is possible; it seems also to be supported by historical evidence.

509. In the first place there are many words with ME. \bar{o} which in modern W. Somerset, as also in Northern dialects, have a short sound which regularly represents ME. u . Luick explains these Northern forms as follows: ME. \bar{o} (either original or from earlier u) was unrounded, becoming mid-back-narrow, or, as \bar{o} may have been "übergeschlossen", high-back-narrow. The latter sound, if shortened would become like u .

It should be noted that no reasons are given for all these changes although they are involved enough: ME. \bar{o} is unrounded and the resulting *unrounded* vowel, if shortened produces a *rounded* vowel.

But if we assume that ME. \bar{o} and occasionally u were levelled under lowered \bar{u} the result of a shortening would as a matter of course be (u), for short u is lower than pure long \bar{u} .

510. Secondly the ME. texts show $u : \bar{o}$ rhymes (explained by Luick as $\bar{o} : \bar{o}$), especially before v , m ; before other consonants never more than once in any text¹). Even the instances before v and m are rare : they occur only for *love*, *gume*, *come*, *some*.

1) Viz. of those examined by Luick.

If from these rhymes we may draw any conclusion the most natural would be that the *u*- and \bar{o} -words rhymed because before labials (*v*, *m*) *u* was lower, approaching the position of \bar{o} . Cp. §§ 238, 507.

511. We conclude therefore that ME. \bar{u} , *u* before labials and ME. \bar{o} were levelled under a lowered \bar{u} , which was afterwards fronted to (əə), occasionally (yy).

On (əə) for ME. \bar{o} .

512. W. Somerset (əə) in *both*, *comb*, *womb*, *whose*, *those* agrees with (uu), which early MnE. grammarians give for *comb* and *ghost*: both pronunciations seem to point to ME. \bar{o} (or *u*?).

513. Early MnE. (uu) is explained by Luick (Unters. § 88) as borrowed from a dialect which had modern (uu) for ME. \bar{o} . But as the W. Somerset pronunciation cannot be thus accounted for, it is more likely that also for literary English the cause is different. Both pronunciations probably require the same explanation.

514. In *womb*, *whose* there is no difficulty in accounting for a ME. \bar{o} : it is of course due to the preceding *w*.

515. (əə) in *comb* might be due to a form with *u* (cp. Low German *kump*). A ME. form with *u* would also explain Early MnE. (uu), for the diphthongization does not take place before *m* (cp. *room* etc. § 507). Cp. also (uu) by the side of (əə) in *crumb* (§ 288).

The Adlington pronunciation (uu) in *those* seems to point to ME. \bar{o} . See Add.

On dialectal and literary *o*-sounds for OE. *ēaw*, *eow*.

516. In *hew*, *ewe*, *sew* the W. Somerset dialect pronounces (oo), in *strew* (AA).

OE. *ēaw* (*heawan*), *eow* (*eowu*, *seowian*, *streowian*) would regularly lead to ME. *eu*, but that cannot have become an *o*-sound.

517. The literary pronunciation shows the same irregularity in *sew*, *strew* (also spelt *strow*); the old spelling *straw* (e. g. in the A. V.) points to a pronunciation agreeing with the dialectal one. With (joo) from OE. *hēawan* we may compare literary *show* from OE. *scēawian*.

518. Early MnE. grammarians give *o* sounds in other words. Ellis I p. 140 writes: "Jones says that the sound of *o*, and *ou*, evidently meaning (*oo*, *oou*) is written *ew* when it may be sounded *ew* as in *chew*, *shew*, *shrewd*, *Shrewsbury*, pronounced 'cho, shro, shrode, shrosbury etc." Lediard (Ellis IV p. 1045) gives the sound *oh*, which Ellis explains as (*oo*), in *chew*, *sew*, *sewer*¹). Buchanan and Sheridan also give (*oo*) in *sew*, *shew*.

519. For *chew* the NED. gives i. v. *chaw* and *chow* two dialectal pronunciations (tshAA, tshau) as still in use. The ME. spelling *chowe*, quoted i. v. *chow*, may mean *chōwe*, as well as *chūwe* (cp. literary *show*). See §§ 286, 307 and Add.

520. In all these forms it seems that the original diphthong has shifted its stress: *ēa* became *eā*; then *iā*, *jā* whilst *j* was finally lost after the consonants (sh, tsh, r), exactly for the same reason that lit. (ju) from older *eu* lost its initial consonant when (sh, tsh, r) or cons. + *l* preceded. See Element. § 333.

521. Thus all the forms would be explained with the exception of *sew*, and literary *straw* (unless we may consider the latter to be a dialectal loan-word).

On the dialectal pronunciation of *-ought*.

522. Of the words with Early ME. *-oht* one is pronounced *-(AAft)* in our dialect (§ 388); the others have no (f): (*n*)*ought*, *thought*, *brought*, *daughter*. (*-AAft*) is certainly dialectal and we may therefore justly suspect the others. When we find moreover that Fielding writes *oft*, *thoft* for *ought*, *thought* (Tom Jones Book VII Ch. XIII), also *soft* for *sought* (ib. Book XV Ch. X) we may confidently explain (*-AAft*, *-aat*) instead of (*-AAft*) as due to literary influence²).

523. In his *Unters.* §§ 90 ff. Luick explains the standard pronunciation of *-ought* as a borrowing from Southwestern dialects. Among these he mentions W. Somerset. It is now made clear, however, that this is impossible³).

1) On the *o*- sound in *sewer* see also Luick, *Anglia* 16 p. 458.

2) Cp. also Jones (the grammarian): "Some also sound *daughter*, *bought*, *nought*, *taught* etc. as with *f*, saying *dafter*, *boft* etc." (Sweet Hist. of English Sounds § 895).

3) This shows once more that the use of Ellis's materials exposes us to constant mistakes, and that we need complete grammars of separate dialects. See also § 550 s. v. *-ought*, and § 560.

524. Although the standard pronunciation cannot be a W. Somerset pronunciation the possibility of a borrowing from other dialects remains. For many dialects pronounce (AAt), so many indeed that we may ask ourselves why we should not consider (-AAt) to be an independent development in the standard language. See Add.

Etymologies.

Ain 'throw'.

525. Ain (*een*) 'to throw' seems to represent ME. *hēne* (OE. *hānan*). The original meaning was *to stone*, but one of the quotations in the NED. (*henede* him with stones) seems to show that the meaning had become more general.

Bleak, bleat.

526. Dr. Horn (Beitr. p. 21) considers *bleak* and *bleat* as one and the same word. But a change of final *k* to *t* (or vice versa) is not known. Moreover *bleat* corresponds with Dutch *blaten*, *bleak* with German *blöken*, so that we have most likely to do with two words. Cp. the explanation of *leat* in the NED. (see § 384).

Chives.

527. The dialectal pronunciation (səivz) represents standard French *cive*. The standard English form *chive* is due to a dialectal French pronunciation.

Cucumber.

528. The pronunciation (kEukəmər) shows the same influence of *cow* by popular etymology as in many other dialects (see e. g. the Windhill dialect). It was also the standard English pronunciation down to the end of the 18th century. G. W. Russel (Collections and Recollections, ed. Tauchnitz I p. 26) mentions *cowcumber* as Lord John Russel's pronunciation.

Drone.

529. The dialectal pronunciation (drEvn) points to ME. *drāne*, OE. *dran*. The standard pronunciation shows, however, that an OE. form with *ā* must also have existed. Cp. NED. s. v. *drone*.

Eaves.

530. (AAfis) may be derived from ME. *ovese*, *ovise* (pointing to OE. **ofes* by the side of *efes*, *yfes*).

The (f) and (s), however, require an explanation. Final (s) in (AAfis) may be compared with (s) in *bodice*. The consonant may in both these words have remained voiceless because the syllable was not entirely unstressed. For voicing took place in weak syllables only and it is natural that it is regular therefore in the plurals of nouns and the third persons of the Present tenses of verbs. For these inflectional syllables have very weak stress (cp. also § 403). The spellings *oavis* (Gloss. by Devoniensis in Exm. Sc. p. 64) and *bodice* show that the final syllable was not felt as an inflection (in *oavis* this was impossible as the dialect formed no new singular like Early MnE. *eave*; in *bodice* the connection with *body* was lost through divergence of meaning)¹). See Add.

Haver.

531a. The word *haver* has been claimed as Northern (NED.) but it seems to be Southern as well. It should be noted, however, that there is another dialectal form (wEts, wøts) 'oats' and that the form of (*eevør*) is not clear. ME. *haver* would regularly have produced (*Eevør*). Note that in W. Somerset *oats* and *haver* have different meanings; *haver* is defined by Elworthy as a grass, 'Lolium perenne'.

Hoe.

531b. (oov) 'hoe' for French *houe* has an exact parallel in standard *clove*, which must be connected with French *cloue*.

Prof. Skeat (Transactions of the Philological Society 1899—1901 p. 264) explains *clove* as a blending of French *cloue* and Italian *chioro*. This explanation is not probable in itself and becomes still less so when we see that (oov) for *hoe* shows a development exactly parallel to that of *clove*.

1) For the same reason *s* is voiceless in standard *dice*, *truce*, *pence* (cp. *pens*); also in West Somerset *aloes*, *bellows*, *gallows*, *mallows*, *bans*. Note that the words in *-ows* were generally pronounced (*-vs*) down to the 19th century, when the standard pronunciation was adapted to the spelling and became (*-ouz*).

Lea, lay.

532. The literary pronunciation (lii, leei) together with the spellings *lea*, *lay* (also found in ME.; see NED. i. v. *lea* sb.² and *lea-land*) allow us to derive the W. Somerset pronunciation (ee) from ME. *lē* (OE. *lēa* by the side of *lēah*).

Pank.

533. (pængk) points to a different word from *pant*. The spelling *pank* occurs in Dryden (Skeat Etym. Dict. p. 820). It is also used in Devon (Hewett p. 173).

Pebble.

534. (pApl) 'pebble' preserves the old medial *p* (ME. *pobbel* but OE. *papol-stān*). *P* may have rounded the original *a*, but *popolstān* is also found.

Pent-house.

535. *Pent-house* is pronounced (peentis), *dust-house* and *malt-house*, however, (dəustəuz, maltEuz). The difference shows that (peentis) is no compound of *house* but represents French *appentis*. Elworthy's spelling *pent-house* is due to a mistaken derivation.

Quoin, sleigh.

536. Both (kween) and (slee) point to ME. forms with *ē*.

ME. *quene* is found (see NED.). The alternative pronunciation *quine* accounts for (kwaain), unless the latter is due to a pronunciation with *oi*.

Sleigh in the sense of a weaver's reed represents ME. **slē*, OE. *slēa*, *slā*. But as the term is technical (slee) in this sense may have been influenced by literary English. Standard (sleei) must be derived from ME. *slaie* OE. *slege*. In its sense of *sledge* (slee) may also have been influenced by standard speech but the standard pronunciation has not been accounted for. (zləid) 'sledge' is probably due to association with *to slide*.

Spill.

537. In his lists Elworthy transcribes *spindle* with (spiel). The word is no doubt identical with the German and Dutch word (cp. Franck Etym. Wdb. i. v. *spil* and Kluge Etym. Wtb. i. v. *spille*).

On some words in *-eak* and on *key*.

538. Of the words in *-eak* there are many whose etymology is obscure.

In the present dialect (*ee*) is pronounced in *weak* (also in *key*); (*Eʋ*) in *sneak*, *streak* v. and s., *steak*; both (*ee*) and (*Eʋ*) in *bleak* v.; both (*Eʋ*) and (*i*) in *creak*; (*i*) in *freak*, *peak*, *squeak*, *tweak*.

(*ee*) usually represents ME. \bar{e} . ME. **wēk* does not occur, but seems to be the original to which also standard *weak* must be referred. Prof. Skeat, acting upon a suggestion in Björkman *Zur dialektischen Provenienz der nordischen Lehnwörter im Englischen* p. 11, has proposed (Transactions of the Philological Society 1899—1901, p. 289 f.) to explain **wēk* as the result of a blending of OE. *wāc* and OE. *wācan*¹). (*kee*) 'key' may represent ME. *kē*, *kê*. We find such a form in Scotch texts, and the forms in the modern dialects of Adlington and Windhill also point to \hat{e} . The NED. proposes to explain the standard pronunciation of *key* by assuming a borrowing from Scotch. Luick (Unters.) thought of a borrowing from those Midland dialects which levelled OE. *æg* under ME. \bar{e} . As the modern dialects in the South as well as in the North point to ME. *kê* we may assume such a form for standard English also. The origin of ME. *kê*, however, still remains to be explained.

W. Somerset (*Eʋ*) in *sneak*, *streak*, *steak* may represent ME. \bar{a} or \hat{e} . The dialect of Windhill pronounces (*iʋ*) in *sneak*, *streak*; Windhill (*iʋ*) points to ME. \bar{e} . We must therefore assume the ME. forms **snēk*, **strēk*²). For *steak* we have

1) MnE. *bleak*, adj. might be explained in the same way. OE. *blāc* had a variant form *blāče* (not *blāč* : Osthoff, *Engl. Stud.* 32, p. 181), and compounds with *blāc-* were often transformed to *blāc-*. Now the latter form might be pronounced *blāc-* as well as *blāč-*, and would thus strengthen the form **blāc* (primarily the result of *blāc* and *blāče*). The form *bleke* does not occur till the 16th century so that the blending may have taken place in ME. as well (between *blēche* and *blōk*).

2) ME. \bar{e} in these words cannot be due to ON. *ei*. Luick (H. A. 107 p. 327 f.) assumes that ME. *ei* (from ON. *ei*) became \bar{e} before *k* in some dialects. In the dialect of Windhill, however, this monophthongization has not taken place; for ME. \bar{e} became (*iʋ*), and ME. *ei* turned into (*eʋ*) : (*wēk*) 'weak' and (*leʋk*) 'play (ON. *leika*)'.

in ME. forms with *ei* and *e*. The MnE. standard spelling points to ME. *stēke*, the standard pronunciation to ME. *staik* or **stāke*. The pronunciation in the modern W. Somerset dialect seems to require a ME. **stāke*. According to Luick (Unters. p. 177) the 18th century grammarians give a sound pointing to ME. **stāke*. Such a form does not occur, but is possible as a variant form of *steik*; cp. ME. *rāke* by the side of ME. *reik* (the NED. s. v. *raik* explains *rake* as a dialectal Norwegian form of the more usual *reik*¹).

Both (ee) and (Eø) of *bleak* v. may represent ME. *ē*; ME. **blēken* is quite possible, with *ē* from *blēten*, which had the same meaning, or because *ē* was onomatopoeic.

Creak (krEøk) may be compared with Dutch *kraken*.

(i) in *freak*, *peak*, *squeak*, *tweak* might be the shortening of a ME. *i* or *ī*. For *freak* we may think of a connection with OE. *frīcian* (see NED. s. v. *freak*). ME. *i* is possible in *tweak* (see Skeat, Etym. Dict. s. v.).

1) This might induce us to assume ME. forms with *ā* for *sneak*, *streak* also. Such forms would account for (Eø) in the W. Somerset dialect. But in the modern Windhill dialect ME. *ā* is represented by (uø). If, therefore, we assume ME. **snāk*, **strāk* we should only have accounted for the W. Somerset pronunciation, and we should still have to assume ME. **snēk*, **strēk* for the Windhill dialect. It would be unmethodical, of course, to assume two forms when one form may account for all the modern pronunciations, as well as for the standard spelling.

CHAPTER V.

The relation of the dialect of W. Somerset to the surrounding dialects.

539. In the study of a dialect it is desirable to know its relation to the speech of the surrounding counties. Sometimes it is certain that forms have been imported from those surrounding dialects. Moreover it would be manifestly impossible (and superfluous) to treat all English dialects exhaustively. I have chosen the dialect of W. Somerset not only because of the materials available for it but because after the books of Murray, Wright and Hargreaves it would be useful to have the history of a *Southern* English dialect.

I shall therefore in the following paragraphs consider the value of the modern W. Somerset dialect as a representative of Southern English, by comparing it with the surrounding dialects. This comparison is almost exclusively concerned with the sounds, for it must be principally based on Ellis's fifth volume.

540. I shall first compare the dialect of W. Somerset with those spoken east of it: East Hereford, Gloucester, East Somerset (represented by specimens from Montacute, Worle, Wedmore), the Axe-Yarty district (the southern part of East Somerset, West Dorset and East Devon), Wiltshire (represented by specimens from Christian Malford, Chippenham and Tilshead¹), Dorset; all these are included by Ellis under the heading 'Dialect 4'. Next I shall treat of the relation of the dialects of W. Somerset and Devon.

1) I have not had the opportunity of consulting Dr. John Kjederqvist's *Dialect of Pewsey*. But see Preface.

It is not necessary for my purpose to go further east. The dialects of Hampshire, Sussex etc. (Ellis's dialect 5) agree on the whole with dialect 4. But dialect 5 has been far more strongly influenced by standard English. The distinction of initial (v, z) in native, (f, s) in French words e. g., 'has almost disappeared in Hampshire'. And (dhik), the definite demonstrative pronoun (§ 129) in dialect 4, W. Somerset, and Devon is unknown in dialect 5.

541. Speaking generally we may say that all southwestern dialects (i. e. Ellis's dial. 4, 10 or W. Somerset and 11 or Devon) *agree* in differing from standard English on the following points:

1. Initial (v, z) in native words.
2. Reverted or retracted *r*.
3. ME. *ai*, *ei* preserved as a diphthong, usually (ai), or (aai)¹.
4. Initial *thr*- becomes (dr-).
5. ME. *ā* is diphthongized.
6. The rounding of ME. *a* by preceding labials is so slight that now (a, aa), then (A, AA) are given.
7. The old prefix of the past participle is preserved, as (v-).

542. A notable point of *difference* among the southwestern dialects is the development of ME. *ō*. In dialect 4 the vowel has been raised to an *u*-sound, but in W. Somerset and Devon the vowel has moreover been fronted, becoming (əə, yy). This is the most striking difference between dialect 4 and dialects 10, 11. Another point of difference between dialect 4 on the one hand and dialects 10 and 11 on the other is the diphthong representing ME. *ī*. In dialect 4 it is usually (Ei), approaching *oy*; in 10 and 11 it is a clear *ai*.

543. In going through Ellis's materials for the southwestern dialects we find still more agreements in details. The following paragraphs do not embody an exhaustive examination of Ellis's specimens, but they attempt to give a more definite idea of the relation of the dialect of W. Somerset to its neighbours on the eastern and the western border than can be gathered from the general remarks in §§ 541 f.

1) But in some southern districts the second element tends to disappear, so that it sounds (ee, EE) in Devonshire 'with more or less of an (*i*) following'.

The dialect of W. Somerset and Ellis's dialect 4.

544. In noting special points of agreement or difference I shall follow the order of Chapter III.

Quantity. Dialect 4 shows on the whole the same lengthening before consonant-combinations as the W. Somerset dialect. Cp. Dorset (ɛi) in *rind*; Dorset (oɐ) in *afford*, *board*, *ferd*; Tilshead (uɐ) in *gold*, *afford*, *ford*, *board*, *hoard*; pointing to ME. *i* and *ó* [cp. Tilshead (uɐ) in *cool*, *tool*, *floor*, *swore*, *spoon*; *moan*, *load*, *road*, *ghost*, *goat* a. o.]. A few forms in the Axe-Yarty district and in Gloucester also point to ME. -*órd*.

In Dorset we have (iɐ) in *fern*, *earn*, *learn*.

In the Axe-Yarty district and in Chippenham we find (piert) 'pert'.

Before -*st* also we often find the representatives of ME. long vowels: (ɛu) in *dust* (Dorset, Christian Malford, Chippenham), also in *crust* (Dorset). Note also (kriis) 'cress' in the Axe-Yarty district and (kriisez) in Chippenham.

We find the same exceptions to these lengthenings: sounds pointing to ME. *i* in *child*¹⁾ (Axe-Yarty and Montacute), in *wild* (Axe-Yarty); in *fist* (Christian Malford); to ME. *u* in *fusty* (Christian Malford). See Add.

545. *Vowels.* Of the short vowels *a* seems to have become *ai* before -*sh* in East Hereford [cp. (wEsh) 'wash' but (wənt) 'want'] and Wiltshire [cp. Tilshead (aish) 'ash-tree'²⁾, Chippenham (æishiz) 'ashes' and Christian Malford (weish) 'wash'].

ME. *u* has not been unrounded in Axe-Yarty (mAAðhɐr) 'mother', Montacute (komin) and Dorset (komɐn) for *coming*. Note (ɐlɛŋg) 'along' in East Hereford and Gloucester, also Axe-Yarty (dɛŋki) 'donkey' (see NED. s. v.).

Just as in W. Somerset, the diphthongs to which ME. *ā*, *ē*, *ē*, *ō*, *ō* gave rise have often become falling: compare (jɛp) 'to heap' in East Hereford; (jɛd) 'head' in Gloucester; (jɛk) 'ache' and (jeepɐrn) 'apron' in Worle; (jɛl) 'eel' in Worle and Axe-Yarty; (jæpɐrn) 'apron' in Tilshead; (wɛm) 'home' in

1) Smart gave short *i* in *child* as the standard pronunciation (Mätzner, Eng. gr. I p. 18).

2) Tilshead (draish) 'thresh' may be compared with the W. Somerset pronunciation of *nesħ* (§ 208).

East Hereford and Gloucester; (kwæt) 'coat' in Gloucester; wul) 'whole' in Axe-Yarty; (kwəm) 'comb' in Chippenham.

Note (uuns) 'once' in Dorset. See Add.

546. *Diphthongs*. The Axe-Yarty and Christian Malford dialects show the same curious anomaly with regard to the sounds for ME. *ai*, *ei* as the W Somerset dialect (§ 292); the usual modern sound for ME. *ai*, *ei* is (ai) e. g. in *lay*, *say*, *way*, *weigh*, but *day* is pronounced in Axe-Yarty as (dee), in Christian Malford as (deei).

Labials + *oi* have in several dialects produced a (w) as in W. Somerset: compare Axe-Yarty (pwoint, mwoisti, spwoil, bwoil, bwoi) 'point, moisty, spoil, boil, boy'¹), also (bwæt) 'boil' in Christian Malford and (pwæt) 'point' in Dorset. See Add.

ME. *au* (and also ME. *a* preceded by a labial) often show no rounding in Wiltshire: Tilshead (ææ) in *raw*, *straw*, *daughter*; (EE) in *saw* s.; Christian Malford (aa) in *warrant*, *walk*, (a) in *want*; Chippenham (EE) in *raw*, *straw*, *claw*, *cause*, *all*; (aa) in *law*, both (EE) and (aa) in *saw* s. and *draw*²).

547. *Consonants*. I have noted one case of *r*-insertion: (lart) 'loft' in Worle. — Loss of initial (w) before back consonants is not rare; Ellis's specimens give it for *woman*, *wood*, *wool*. Also loss of unstressed *w* occurs: *with* (t̪dh) in East Hereford, (v̪dhæt) 'without' in East Hereford and Gloucester; (vored) 'forward' in Christian Malford. Note (v̪dhæt·rt) 'athwart' in Christian Malford. — Medial *f* has been lost in (aat̪ernuun) 'afternoon' (East Hereford, Gloucester and Christian Malford) and (lart) 'loft' (Worle). The forms of *loaf*, *knife*, *wife* have been levelled under the inflected forms with (v): (loov, n̪æt̪iv, w̪æt̪iv). — Loss of final *v* occurs in (saar, sar) 'serve' (Christian Malford and Worle). — The change of (dh) to (v) occurs in (s̪æt̪ivz) 'scythes' and (v̪erzdee) 'Thursday' (Dorset). Final *th* has become (t) in (vilt) 'filth' in Christian Malford (§ 362). — Medial *g* is pronounced (k) in (fæk̪v̪t) 'faggot' (Worle). See Add.

1) Also (bwoi) in Gloucester and Christian Malford.

2) (aa) is probably due to standard English: draw is transcribed with (dr̪EE, draa) but the dialectal word *draw out* 'to stretch' only as (dr̪EE t̪ut).

The metathesis of *sk* > *ks* in *ask* is found in nearly all the specimens of dialect 4; also *sp* > *ps* in *crisp*, *hasp*, *wasp* (Dorset). Apocope of the final syllable of *carry*, *quarry* and *study* occurs in Worle.

548. *Accidence*. With regard to the verbs Ellis's materials allow us to conclude that consonantal preterites are far more common in dialect 4 than in present standard English. Compare East Hereford (tEld, hiērd) 'told, heard'; Gloucester (tEld, ziid) 'told, saw'; Axe-Yarty (teetsht) 'taught'; Wiltshire (tEld, hſiērd, naud, ziid, kſimd, tiitsht, viild, gid) 'told, heard, knew, saw, came, taught, felt, gave'; West Dorset (draad) 'drew'. But it seems that the verbs with gradation have no consonantal ending. Of back-formations of present tenses from preterites note (hEft) 'heave' (Gloucester); (lEf, mid) 'leave, may' (Axe-Yarty); (klīm, mid) 'climb, may' (Wiltshire); (mid) 'may' (Dorset). See Add.

Note the double plural (təngziz) 'tongs' in Chippenham.

The double forms for the demonstrative pronoun *that* (dhæt; dhik, dhſk, dhæk)¹) are general in all the southwestern dialects; two of Ellis's informants distinctly say that (dhik) is used 'for a shaped object' (Montacute), and 'for shaped objects' (Mr. W. Barnes, the Dorset poet).

549. *Suffixes*. The suffix (-ənt) has been substituted in Axe-Yarty (lſiēnt, dændilſiēnt) 'lion, dandelion'²). (-ər) has been added to *mason* (meesnər)²) in the Gloucester dialect. The Axe-Yarty dialect agrees with the W. Somerset pronunciation of the suffix in *orchard*: (ſrtshit). The suffix (-th) is found in Axe-Yarty (hſiith) 'height', Dorset (bluuth) 'bloom'. See Add.

550. Here follow some notes on special words.

again. The Gloucester, Christian Malford and Dorset pronunciation (iə) points to ME. *a*, for ME. *ai*, *ei* is represented by (ai) in these dialects.

bayonet. The pronunciation is (bægənət) in Chippenham.

beetle: (bitl) in Wiltshire, but one informant (from Chippenham) gave (biidl, bidl).

1) (dhæk) may be a blending of (dhik) and (dhæt).

2) Ellis's text prints (lſiant), an apparent error, which also occurs in (meesnar) for (meesnər).

coarse. The Axe-Yarty pronunciation (kɛs) points to a ME. form with *u*, which must also be assumed as the prototype of W. Somerset (kəəs).

cud. This word does not occur in Ellis's classified wordlist so that its pronunciation is rarely given. In dialect 4 I have only found it once, in the specimen from Worle : (kwiid). In the specimens of the other southern dialects *cud* is only given for East Sussex, as (kwid).²

deaf. Irregular pronunciations occur in Gloucester (iɐ), Worle and Dorset (ii). Both sounds point to ME. *ē*.

four. Several dialects have in this word a diphthong (or a triphthong) representing ME. *ū* : Axe-Yarty, Wiltshire (Tilshead, Chippenham), Dorset; cp. § 286, note.

hear. Several informants give this word with an *i*-sound, which may be genuine but may also be due to standard English. (ɛi) is given for East Somerset (Wedmore, Worle) and Wilts (Christian Malford).

-ought. In the Axe-Yarty specimen *ought* is transcribed (AAft).

pillow : (piɐl) in Worle.

-eak and *key*. In most dialects the words in *-eak* and also *key* have sounds pointing to ME. *ē*.

Steak, however, has (iɐ) in Gloucester, where (iɐ) represents ME. *â* : *take, make, bake* etc.

The Chippenham form (kEE) 'key' seems to point to ME. *ai*; compare (EE) in *nail, tail, clay, neigh, weigh*. And ME. *ē, ē* is in Chippenham represented by an *i*-sound (ii, *ii*, *iɐ*).

The dialects of W. Somerset and Devonshire.

551. The dialect of Devonshire is represented in Ellis by two specimens from North and three from South Devon. Of the N. Devon specimens that from North Molton is untrustworthy. This is shown by a comparison with the other specimen in Ellis (from Iddesleigh) and the 'Glossary of the Dialect of Hartland, Devonshire by R. Pearse Chope', published by the English Dialect Society, 1891¹). Mr. Chope's book

1) The North Molton informant gave e. g. (iə) in *few, new* instead of the well-known (yy) given by the other authorities. He also has (ai) in *mind, mice*, where the others agree on (ii).

was specially written for the purpose of comparing the dialects of Hartland and W. Somerset so that I have had much use from his work. If I mention a peculiarity as found in Devon this refers therefore to Hartland, unless otherwise stated. It should be noted, however, that the dialects of Devonshire agree in all essentials and in nearly all points of detail¹). Ellis says (V p. 166) that 'the real differences in North and South, East and West Devon and East Cornwall are not sufficient to form districts for, but are mere varieties of the same dialect'.

552. On the basis of the general characteristics of the Southwestern dialects (see § 541 f.) I shall now go into some detail about the dialect of Devon, especially of Hartland.

Quantity. Before *-nd* the dialect points to short vowels in ME.: *blen-nittle* 'blind-nettle', *grending-stone* 'grinding-stone', *to rend* 'to take the rind off', (e) in *bind*, *find*, *grind*. But (ii) in *end* points to ME. *-énd*. — For *child* all three N. Devon authorities give (tshil). — *Fern* is pronounced with (ii). — Also before *-st* the modern sounds point to long vowels, in *last*, *master*, *dowst* 'dust'.

553. *Vowels.* Note (eɐ̯, Eɐ̯) in *bans*. — Hartland pronounces (ɛ̃) in *barm*, *farm*, *cart*, *smart*, *yard*, *bark*, *dark*, *far*; (ɛ̃) points to ME. *e*. — ME. *i* has been lengthened to (ii) in *greep* 'handful, handgreeping fork', to (ee) in *bail* 'bill (of a bird)', (zeev) 'sieve'²). — ME. *o* has in some words become (ɛ̃), not only in the neighbourhood of labial consonants, as in *foreign*, *hover*, *bonnet*, *knob*, *grog*, *strong*, *pot-shurd*, but also in *cog*, *dog*, *fog*, *hog*, *along*, *long*. It has been unrounded to (a) in *knock*, *among* (§ 241), *belong*, *not*, *knot*, *clot*, *plot*, *trot*, *beyond*, *drop*, *robin*. ME. *u*, on the other hand, has become (AA) in *hurt*, *hurrah*; (A) in *come*, *comfort*, *company*, *some*, *mother*, *un-* (see § 240). On the relation of (ɛ̃) and (A) in W. Somerset see §§ 40, 233. — ME. *ū* has produced a sound usually representing ME. *ō* in *zooker* 'sucker'. — The ME. long *e*-sounds have caused the diphthong which gave rise to an initial (j) + vowel in *yen* 'ain, throw', *yaffer* 'heifer', *yeat* 'heat', (jEθ) 'hearth'. — Just

1) Some of the points of detail shared by South Devon with Hartland and W. Somerset are mentioned in § 560.

2) For the lowering of (ii) to (ee) compare (ee) in *drive*, *seek*.

as in W. Somerset *queer* has also in Hartland the exceptional (Eɐ). — ME. *ē* has occasionally been preserved : (ee) in *seek*. This is probably due to a modern lowering of an earlier (ii), for ME. *ī* has been preserved in some words, as (ii) in *hide*, *mice* (spelled *meeze*), *pike*; as (ee) in *drive* (see also note on *bail* 'bill' and *sieve*, p. 140) — On final ME. *-ōh* see § 554.

554. *Diphthongs*. ME. *au* (from earlier *au*, or from *a + l*) is represented by a sound variously appreciated, as (AA) and as (aa) : both sounds are given in *all*, *ball*, *daughter*, *sauce*. Cp. also (AA) and (aa) in *quart*. Hartland has (ev, Eɐ) not only in *draw* but also in *gnaw*. — ME. *eu* is represented by (AA) in *chew*, *ewe* (written *yaw*). But *chew* has also (Eu). — ME. *-ōw-* has usually become (AA), as in *blow*, *low*, *grow*, *sow*, *sew*. But in *mow* v. the sound is (yy, əə), also for final *-ōh* in *plough*, *enough*, *slough*.

555. *Consonants*. Initial (w) has been lost in *ot* 'what'; also loss of (w) in unstressed syllables : *athin*, *within*, *athout* 'without', *aikul* 'equal'. The combination *wr-* has become (vr-) in *vreath* 'wreath'. Note also Hartland *skiver* 'skewer'. — Insertion and loss of *r* are common in the Hartland dialect. (*r*) has been inserted in *after* (-noon), words in *-ought*, *-aught*, *-ight* (-iərt) e. g. in *ought*, *daughter*, *caught*, *fight*, *light* etc., also in *spurtacles* 'spectacles'. Loss of *r* in *earth*, *hearth*, *burst*, *coarse*, *course*, *durst* (written *duss*), *force*, *marsh*, *parcel*, *northern* and many more. — Unstressed *n* is regularly lost in *bar-ire* 'crow-bar', *ope* 'open' adj. v. — Medial *v* has become (w) and then vocalized in *shool* (shyyl) 'shovel' and *drool* (dryyl) 'drivel' (but see § 350). Loss of medial *v* occurs in (aarəst) 'harvest'. — Initial *th* i. e. (dh) has become (v) in *vump* 'thump'¹). Hartland agrees with W. Somerset in pronouncing (gʷɹt) 'girth'. — A medial consonant has become voiced in *maddick* 'mattock'; the reverse happened in *facket* 'faggot'. We must conclude that medial voiceless consonants are not distinctly pronounced in the dialect so that they are more or less assimilated to the vowels and become voiced. — Note *neeze* 'sneeze' (§ 363) and *mauth* 'moss'. — Medial *d* has been opened, to (r), in *errish* 'stubble-field'. Insertion of *d* is common in the combinations *-rl* etc. (see § 374) e. g. *tailder*

1) Also Exm. Sc. l. 86 gives *vump*.

'tailor', *cornder* 'corner'; also in the comparative and superlative of adjectives in *-l*, *-m*, *-n*, *-r*: *smalllder*, *zoonder*, *thinder* etc. — Note initial (tsh) in *cackle* and final (k) in *wink* 'winch'; also (f) in *sife*, *sify* 'sigh'. — Metathesis occurs in *ax* 'ask', also (ps) for *sp* in *clasp*, *hasp*, *crisp*.

556. *Unstressed syllables*. Literary *-ow* is pronounced with an *i*-sound in *volly* 'follow', *belvy* 'bellow', *walvin* 'wallowing', also *zinny* 'sinew'. — Syncope of *i* in *fustian*, *spaniel*, *carrion*, also in the proper names *Elliot*, *Daniel*, *Williams*. An *i*-sound has been inserted in *arby-pie* 'herb-pie', *milky-dashle* 'milk-thistle', *bizzy-milk* 'beestings'. Apocope of *-i* in *bury*, *carry*, *empty*, *slippery*.

557. *Accidence*. In the dialect of Hartland (*-i*) is used to form verbs denoting a profession or trade: *taildery*, *masonry* etc. The notional verb is inflected instead of the auxiliary *let*. The verbs with vowel-change also have a consonantal ending. *Lost* 'lose' is clearly a back-formation from the preterite.

The singular of nouns of measure is used after numerals: *bout a vower or vive mile*¹).

558. *Suffixes*. The dialects of Hartland and W. Somerset agree on several points concerning the suffixes. Compare (*-ent*) in *errand*; (*-erd*) in *scholar*, *miller*, *liar*; note *ship* 'shepherd's dog'. The Hartland dialect also has two forms *drowth* and *dryth* for 'thirst'.

559. Of special words we may note *blake* 'to turn pale', *brexus* 'breakfast'²), (*diiv*) 'deaf', *apple-drane* 'wasp', *auvis* 'eaves', (*guu*) 'go' [although ME. *ȝ* has usually become (*oo*, *AA*), and ME. *ȝ* : (*yy*, *æə*)], *aiver* 'haver' (with a vowel pointing to ME. *ē*), (*ingen*) 'onion', *popple* 'pepple', *dashle* 'thistle'.

560. From the specimens for South Devon in Ellis I may mention the following pronunciations shared by the dialects of South Devon with those of Hartland and W. Somerset: (*dæshl*) 'thistle', (*tshəu*) 'chew', (*səif*) 'sigh', (*thoft*, *dafter*) 'thought, daughter', (*iivlɪn*, *jiivlɪn*) 'evening', (*tʔrɪmɪt*) 'turnip'.

Note also (*peez*) 'pea', plural *peezn*).

1) Note the use of *a* in the sense of standard 'some'; see p. 31, note 1.

2) Perhaps the second element represents *sauce*.

The dialect of W. Somerset and Standard English.

561. It is a well-known fact that English dialects have been influenced by the standard language to a greater extent than the dialects in other countries e. g. Germany. It is a matter of importance, therefore, to know how far the dialectal forms are genuine, how far they are due to or influenced by standard English.

562. As was to be expected, from its position in the far West and the habits of its population, the dialect of W. Somerset has preserved its purity better than the dialects spoken east of it. This comparative 'purity', however, does not exclude a strong influence of standard English.

563. In many cases where a double pronunciation is given it is certain that one of the two is due to the influence of standard English¹). When we find *hindrance* transcribed (iinderment, iinderens) there is no doubt that (iinderens) is the dialectal adaptation of standard *hindrance*. Again when *jaundice* is pronounced (dzhaanderz, dzhaarndis) we may be sure that the latter represents standard *jaundice* (see p. 81 note 2). Compare further (klEf, kleev) 'cleave', (kEi, kEu) 'cow', (hAn, ween) 'when', (dho, dheen) 'then', (myyz; mAAs, mAATH) 'moss' etc.

564. In other cases a pronunciation shows itself to be due to standard English by deviating from the regular dialectal development; (əi) in *right*, *mighty* e. g. is probably due to standard English, for the regular modern representative of ME. *-iht* is (ee).

565. Finally, we have words whose forms are quite what we should expect, but which are probably adaptations of literary English because the dialect has another, undoubtedly genuine word for the idea. So (wEes) 'waist' is not shown to be borrowed from standard English by its form, yet it is probably a literary loanword, for the usual dialectal word is *middle*.

For the convenience of readers who use my book without fully studying the third chapter, all pronunciations due to

1) Sometimes Elworthy, when giving two pronunciations for a word, stated that the genuine pronunciation was used by the lowest class, whilst the higher classes used the pronunciation approaching standard English.

standard English have been marked with an asterisk *preceding* the phonetic transcription.

Result.

566. When we consider the general lines of development of the southern English dialects, we cannot hesitate to accept the present dialect of W. Somerset as a fair representative of them. It even agrees with them on most points of detail, especially with the dialect of Devonshire.

It is true that many peculiarities are not limited to the Southern dialects; when in the preceding paragraphs grammatical facts have been mentioned as found in the southern dialects, it should be understood that such statements are to be taken in what Sievers in a similar case has called their 'positive' sense i. e. the development is found in the southern dialects but it is not necessarily limited to these.

567. It is, on the contrary, easy enough to point out similar developments to those in the Southern English dialects in the dialects further to the North. To quote a few examples: we find a sound pointing to ME. *énd* in Suffolk (19)¹), to ME. *-ést* for *nest* in Suffolk (19) and North Buckingham (15). The diphthongization of ME. *â*, even, is not limited to the South; it is found in South Buckingham (15), Suffolk (19) and South Lincoln (20). The fronting of ME. *ō* to (*əə*, *yy*) is also known to the East Anglian and Scotch dialects. A great many of the prefixes and suffixes used in W. Somerset differently from standard English also occur in non-Southern dialects: cp. the addition of *-er* to *druggist*, *mason*, *musician* etc. in Norfolk. Ellis V p. 271 f. gives quite a list of these, many of them corruptions of foreign words, found in all dialects and characteristic of none: *chimbley* 'chimney', *marvel* 'marble', *bagonet* 'bayonet', *mislest* 'molest', *wagabone* 'vagabond' (cp. *baggabone* in Hartland) etc. etc. Even such a striking anomaly as (*ingen*) 'onion' in W. Somerset and Hartland is also found in Bedfordshire (16). Note also (ii) in *deaf* in Rutland and Norfolk. See Add.

1) The numbers between brackets refer to Ellis' division of the English dialects.

568. Although, therefore, many single developments in the Southern dialects are shared by other dialects, the whole of the Southern sounds and accidence is not found in other parts of England.

When we consider the sounds and accidence¹⁾ of W. Somerset as a whole, we can therefore truly say that they are representative of the dialectal speech of Southern England.

The dialect of W. Somerset during the ME. and the OE. periods.

569. The character of the dialect of W. Somerset in the ME. period may to a large extent be inferred from its present form. The latter shows, for instance, that the ME. vowels were long before *-r* + consonant, and before *-st*; that *wrestle*, *step*, *wench*, *wedge* a. o. had *a* instead of *e*; that *agān* was pronounced for *again* etc. Some of the forms thus arrived at are specially Southern, e. g. *sēde* 'said' (§ 293).

For all these things I must refer to the third and following chapters.

570. To state a little more accurately the position of the ME. dialect of W. Somerset among the Southern dialects we may point to the conclusion arrived at in § 267 that it had *ē* in Late ME. for Late ws. *ȳ* (Old ws. *īe*). That (œi) in *beetle*, *hear* is not a genuine W. Somerset pronunciation may also be inferred from what Mr. Elworthy says in the Wdb. s. v. *hire-say*: 'hear-say This form is not so common in this neighbourhood as in East Somerset'.

571. Another point of importance in this connection is the pronunciation of *cud* and *couch*. The former is pronounced (kwiid), the latter both (twiitsh) and (kəətsh). As I have pointed out in § 238 the pronunciation (twiitsh) is probably genuine, whilst (kəətsh) may be the W. Somerset adaptation of Southern dialectal (kuutsh), see § 43.

572. In both cases where I have explained a form as due to neighbouring dialects (§§ 570 f.) the genuine forms also exist. This seems to show that the 'borrowed' pronunciations

1) I have not made a lexicographical comparison, primarily because I have no large library at my disposal; but see also Introduction p. 6.

are not native to W. Somerset but were only heard by Mr. Elworthy from people born to the East of W. Somerset. This is all the more likely because it would be difficult to understand why a W. Somerset man should borrow forms of another dialect. Natural and common as borrowings from the standard language are in W. Somerset, as in other dialects, it seems impossible to believe in dialectal words being borrowed from a non-literary dialect, unless the borrowed form represents an approach to the standard language¹).

The form (ȝiær) 'hear', therefore, is probably an East Somerset pronunciation occasionally heard in W. Somerset. (kæətsh), on the other hand, may be the pronunciation of people who wish to approach standard English, yet feel shy to be quite 'fine'.

573. When we compare the ME. dialects of which texts have come down to us we find that the ME. W. Somerset dialect must have agreed on some points with that of the Ancræn Riwe. Both had \bar{e} for Late ws. \bar{y} , Old ws. \bar{ie} ²); both pronounced r with a labial articulation (see §§ 204, 329); they also agree on $r\bar{e}w$ for *row* s. (§ 308).

The closely related 'Katharine-group' shows \bar{o} in *ghost* and *both* (§ 512)³), and $\bar{l}\bar{e}sten$ (§ 209)⁴). See also § 502.

Rob. of Gloucester's dialect shows several points of resemblance, among which I note $s\bar{e}de$ (§ 293), *foure* with \bar{u} (Pabst § 33e) and *hwanne* [W. Somerset (hAn), see § 204].

1) In the dialect of N. E. Groningen (Holland), for instance, (huus), which is still universally used at the farm-houses, is in the villages often replaced by (hyys); the latter dialectal form approaches standard (həhis), where (əh) is Ellis's notation for the vowel in English *sir*, but short.

2) This peculiarity is shared by the legends of the 'Katharine-group', Rob. of Gloucester, and the legends of St. Edith and St. Ethelred.

3) The spelling *o* in *both*, *ghost*, *lo* in the legends of the 'Katharine-group' is explained by Stodte (§ 9b and c) as \bar{o} . But OE. \bar{a} is in these texts represented by *a*, except a few words which are spelled with *oa*. The spelling *o*, on the other hand, apart from the three words in question, is found only for OE. *o* or \bar{o} . Hence we may assume \bar{o} in *both*, *ghost* and *lo*. ME. $\bar{l}\bar{o}$ is known to have existed and ME. $\bar{b}\bar{o}th$, $\bar{g}h\bar{o}st$ are the prototypes of the modern forms in some other dialects (see Unters., Wortregister s. v. *both*, *ghost*).

4) Rob. of Gloucester also has *ileste* but the rhymes point to *laste* (Pabst § 141).

574. The ME. poem of Sir Firumbras, supposed to have been written in a Devonshire dialect, may be expected to show points of resemblance with the modern dialects of W. Somerset and Devon.

In quantity the ME. text has *-ēnd* for OE. *-īnd* (Carstens p. 17), see § 552. Sir F. also has *aychs* 'ash-tree', and *neychs* 'nesh', see § 208; but Morsbach states (§ 87 Anm. 3) that these forms also occur in Midland texts. Sir F. shows loss of final alveolars in *blas* 'blast', *boun* 'bound'. The endings with *i* are usual also in the French verbs in Sir F. e. g. *amendie*, *amounty*, *entamy*, *entendiap* etc.¹). Of special words note *ayper* in the sense of 'each of more than two' (§ 467 c), *melle* 'meddle', *thilk* 'that', *thō* 'then'.

575. It is strange, however, that Sir F. has *u* for Late ws. *ȳ*, Old ws. *īe* when the modern W. Somerset dialect points to ME. *ē*²). Perhaps *u* (yy) was unrounded in Late ME. to *ē*, which is possible as the result of the unrounding as well as *ī*. For the ME. (yy) sound was often, if not always, lowered to (əə); this seems to be proved by such a rhyme as *duyk* : *syk* (OE. *sēoc*) in Sir F., also by *u* for OE. *eo* in Rob. of Gloucester (Pabst § 37).

If this should be correct we may also assume that Late ME. *ē* in *smeech* etc. in W. Somerset descended from Early ME. *ū*, Late ws. *ȳ*. In the Saxon counties further east, on the other hand, Old ws. *īe* became ME. *ī*³).

1) The legends of the Katharine-group often have infinitives in *-īn*, not only of verbs of the first class (in OE.), but also of ON. verbs such as *talkīn*, *trustīn*; see Stodte § 38, p. 58.

2) Also the modern Devon forms point to ME. *ē* but Ellis's specimens give no words that are exclusively dialectal (like W. Somerset *smeech*) so that the *i*-sounds might be due to standard English.

3) The modern Wiltshire pronunciation (ɛi) in *hear* points to ME. *ī*. In the legends of St. Edith and St. Ethelred, which are supposed to have been written in a Wiltshire dialect, we find *ē*, however. This seems to show that the dialect of these legends is not that of Wiltshire. It is true that a single dialectal form is hardly a safe basis for conclusions, and Dr. J. Kjederqvist's book on the dialect of Pewsey may bring material to settle the question satisfactorily. But there are neither strong reasons for assuming that the ME. legends are really written in a Wiltshire dialect; the principal ground on which it has been accepted is, that they have been written by a man connected with a Wiltshire nunnery. See Add.

Glossary.

Abbreviations: *a.* = adjective; *ad.* = adverb; *Add.* = Additions (at the end of the book); *occ.* = occasionally; *prep.* = preposition; *pron.* = pronoun; *s.* = substantive; *v.* = verb.

The pronunciation has been added in brackets; an asterisk preceding a phonetic transcription marks the pronunciation as due to the influence of standard English (§ 565)¹; an asterisk following a transcription refers to the doubtful character of the phonetic notation, as explained in Chapter I. in the sections on the respective sounds; the numbers refer to the sections in this book.

A.

a 'alphab. letter' (Eʋ).
a indef. art. (ʋ).
abatement s. (bEʋtmənt).
abb 'weaver's webb' s. (AAb).
abear v. (ʋbAr, *ʋbEər); 435, 449.
abide v. (bəid, baaid, ʋbəid).
abier 'dead but unburied' a. (ʋbiər).
ability s. (Eʋblmənt); 481.
able a. (Eʋbl).
ablish a. (Eʋblish); 469.
Abner (æbmər).
about prep. (bEut); (bEud) before a vowel.
above 'more than' (ʋbəə); 'opposite of below' (buu, ʋbuu, ʋbʉv); 242.
above a bit 'a good deal' ad. (bʉvəbit).
above-board 'straightforward' a. (buu-buərd, ʋbəəbor).
abroad ad. (ʋbruəd, ʋbroəd).
abuse s. (bəəz, *bəəs, *byys).
abuse v. (bəəz, byyz).
abusive a. (byyzi).
academy s. (a·kədəmi).
accept v. (səp, hak·səp).
ace s. (Eəs).
ache s. v. (Eək).
acorn s. (*EəkArn). See *mast*.
acquaint v. (kwaaint).
acquaintance s. (kwaaintəns),

acquittance s. (kwitmənt); 481.
acre s. (Eəkər).
act v. (aak).
active a. (akti, hakti); 387.
activeness s. (aktinis).
actually ad. (akli, aakli, haakli); 387, 470.
addle a. v. (ædl).
admire v. (məiər).
advantage s. (vaantidzh).
adventure s. (veenter); 369, 405.
advertisement s. (vərtəi·zmənt).
advise v. (vəiz).
affected a. (fæktid*).
affiliate v. (fəliEʋt).
afford v. (ʋvuərd).
affront v. (fʉrnt, fərnt).
afoot ad. (ʋvəət).
afraid a. (ʋviərd), *occ.* (ʋfiərd).
after ad. (aader, aater).
afterwards ad. (aaterwərdz).
again ad. (ʋgiən); 256.
against 'in violent contact with' (gin, gən, ʋgən); 'towards' (ʋgins).
aged a. (Eədzhid).
ago ad. (ʋgAAən).
agree v. (grii).
agreeable a. (ʋgreəvbl).
agreement s. (griimənt).
ah interj. (aa).
ahead ad. (ʋ-eed).
aid s. v. (aaid).

1) For more or less doubtful cases, which have not been marked, see §§ 219 f., 261, 292, 299, 378, 394, 406 ff., 424 ff.

ail v. (aaiɐl).
 ailment s. (aailment).
 aim s. (aaim).
 aim v. (aaim, *eem); 292.
 ain 'throw' v. (een); 525.
 air s. (*Eær); 290.
 aisle s. (əiɐl, aaiɐl); 187, 188.
 Albert (AAlbert).
 alder s. (Aler); 374.
 ale s. (Eɐl).
 Alfred (*aalfurd)¹).
 alike ad. (ɐlik, ɐlik); 271, 498 ff.
 alive a. (ɐləiv).
 all a. (AAl, Aɐl, aal, ɐɐl).
 allege v. (leedzh).
 alley s. (ali).
 allotment s. (lAtment).
 allow v. (ləu, ɐləu, ɐlEu).
 almanac s. (AArmɛnik); 328.
 almost ad. (ɐmAAs, mAAs, muu-is);
 325. See *most*.
 aloes s. (alis); 408 ff.
 alone a. (aloun).
 alphabet s. (aarfɛbɛt); 328.
 already ad. (ɐrædi).
 always ad. (AAvis, AAvis); 318,
 325.
 amazement s. (mEɛzmɛnt).
 ambergris s. (aambergrees); 271,
 498 ff.
 amen (Eɛmeen, aameen); 254.
 amend v. (meen).
 amends s. (meenz).
 amid ad. (ɐmɛd).
 amiss ad. (ɐmEs*).
 among prep. (mæŋg); 241 and Add.
 amongst prep. (mæŋgks); 241 and
 Add.
 amuse v. (myyz).
 anatomy s. (natɛmi).
 ancient a. (ænsɛnt); 202.
 angel s. (ændzhiɐl*); 202.
 angle v. s. (æŋgl).
 angry a. (æŋg-gri).
 Anne (Eɛn); 201.
 annoy v. (nAAi).
 annoyance s. (nAAiɛns).
 anointed a. (nAAintɪd, nAintɪd).
 any pron. (ɛdɛr, əni); 148, 467 b.
 apart a. (ɐpɛrt, ɐpEert); 201, 213.
 appeal s. v. (pEɐl).
 apple s. (aapl, apl).
 apprentice s. (pɛrntis).
 apricot s. (EɛbrɪkAAk); 341.
 April (Eɛpɛr, jEɛprɐl); 261, 476.
 apron s. (ɛpɛrn); 200.
 arable a. (aareɐl).

arcade s. (arkɪɛd).
 arch s. (aartsh, artsh).
 archangels. (artshæ'ndzhiɐl); 383.
 architect s. (aartshitæk); 383.
 argue v. (arg); 416.
 armpit s. (aarmput).
 around ad. (rɛun).
 array v. (hraai).
 arrow s. (arɛ, aarɛ); 406.
 arsenic s. (haarsnik).
 art s. (aart).
 article s. (haartɪkl); 387.
 artist s. (hartis); 387.
 ash s. (aarsh).
 ashes s. (aksn); 102.
 ashamed a. (ɛshəmd); 252.
 ask v. (aks*, aaks).
 askew ad. (skyyfaarshin).
 aslant a. (ɛslən, ɛslɛn); 216.
 asleep a. (ɛzleep).
 aspen tree s. (aps tri).
 assess v. (zæs).
 assizes s. (səiziz).
 athwart ad. (ɛdhɛ'rt); 317.
 attack v. (ɛtak); 450.
 attendance s. (teenɛns, *teendɛns);
 468.
 attorney s. (tɛrni).
 attraction s. (trakshɛn).
 aunt s. (aant, ant).
 auricula, s. (raaklis*, raklis); 225
 and Add., 408.
 aware a. (wEær).
 away ad. (awaai, *awee); 292.
 awful a. (AAfl).
 awkward a. (AAkɛrd); 317, 350 and
 Add.
 awl s. (nAAɐl).
 axe s. (Eks, hEks, eks, heks); 216.
 aught s. (*overt); 305, 522.
 axle s. (eksl, heksl).
 aye (aai).
 azew a. (ɛzəə).

B.

b 'alphabetic letter' (bi).
 baa interj. (baa).
 babe s. (bEɛb).
 baby s. (bEɛbi).
 back s. (baak*).
 back 'bet' v. (bak).
 bacon s. (bEɛkn).
 bad a. (bEɛd); 201.
 bag s. (beeg); 155 Add.
 baggage s. (bægidzh).
 bail s. v. (*bEɐl); 290.

1) The (f) is of course due to standard English, where it is pronounced owing to the spelling (ME. Alured); cp. Bülbring, A Beibl. XV, 142.

- bailiff s. (baaili, *bEeli, *bieli); 290.
 bait 'food' s. v. (bAAit, bAit); 295.
 bait 'torment' v. (baait, bəit).
 bake v. (bEək).
 baker s. (bEəkər).
 balance s. v. (baləns*).
 bald a. (baal).
 bald-faced a. (bal-, bAlfEəsəd).
 bald-headed a. (bAleədəd).
 bale s. (bEəl).
 balk 'beam' s. (bAAk).
 ball s. (baal, bAAI).
 ballad s. (balət); 376, 479.
 ballard 'castrate ram' s. (balərd).
 balloon s. (bələən).
 ballot 'bundle' s. (*baalət, bələt).
 balm s. (bEəm); 201.
 Bampton (baanəm).
 ban s. (bEən, bən); 201.
 band 'tie, chain' s. (bAAn). See *bond*.
 bans (of marriage) s. (bEəns); 201.
 bankrupt s. (bængkərp).
 bare a. (bEər).
 barefooted a. (bEərvəət).
 bark v. (bƏrki); 213.
 bark 'of a dog' s. (bƏrk); 213.
 bark 'of a tree' s. (baark).
 barm 'yeast' s. (baarm).
 barrow-in 'barrow-pig' s. (bærə); 406.
 barrow 'mound of earth' s. (bƏrə); 213, 406.
 base a. (bEəs, biəs). Also (biəs) or (biəsməlk), see *beestings* and *bisky-milk*.
 baste v. (bEəs); 196.
 bat s. (baat, bat).
 bathe v. (bEəd; bath, baadh); 254.
 bay 'dam to retain water etc.' s. (baai, bee); 292.
 bay 'bark' s. v. (bee); 292.
 bayonet s. (bægənət); 323.
 be v. (bii, bi); 86, 224, 443.
 beach s. (beetsh).
 beacon s. (bikin).
 bead s. (beed, biəd).
 beak s. (bik, beek).
 beaker s. (bikər).
 beam 'b. of a plough etc.' (biim); 493 ff., 496 Add. Cp. *balk*.
 bean s. (biən).
 bear v. (bEər). See *abear*.
 beard s. (biərd*).
 beardless a. (tiərdlis).
 beast s. (*biəs*). See *feast*.
 beastliness s. (biəslinis).
 beat v. (biət).
 beat-axe s. (biət-, beet-Eks; bəteks)¹.
 beater 'drum in a threshing-machine' s. (biuter, beetər).
 beau s. (*bəə); 309.
 beautiful a. (bətɪpəl, byytɪpəl, byytɪfəl).
 becall v. (bikjaal); 472 b.
 bed s. (beed).
 bedding s. (beedin).
 bed-fellow s. (beedfɛlər).
 bedlier s. (beedlɛiər).
 bedridden a. beedrɛdn).
 bedstead s. (beedsteed).
 bee s. (bee); 265.
 bee-bread s. (biibɛrd).
 bee-butt 'bee-hive' s. (biibɛt).
 beech s. (bitsh).
 beer s. (biər).
 beestings s. (biəs); 263, note.
 beetle 'insect' s. (bitl, bətl).
 beetle 'mallet' s. (baatl, bəitl); 267, 570 and Add.
 beet-root s. (beetrət); 265.
 before ad. (vvoor, vvoer, vør).
 beforehand ad. (vvoorən).
 beg v. (bæg, bəig); 214.
 beggar s. (bægər, bəigər); 214.
 begin v. (bigiin); 431 f.
 behindhand ad. (bi-əinən).
 behope 'hope' v. (bi-oo); 472 b.
 beknow 'understand' v. (binoo); 472 b.
 belch v. (bɛlk, *bɛltsh); 384.
 belch s. (bɛlsh).
 believe v. (bileev, bliv); 265.
 belike 'probably' ad. (biləik).
 bell s. (bɛl).
 belle s. (bɛl).
 bellow v. (bɛlvi, *bɛlər); 318, 406 ff.
 bellows s. (bɛlis, bəlis, bəlisez); 406 ff.
 belly s. (bɛli).
 belly-ful s. (bɛlivəl).
 Ben (been).
 bench s. (bɪnsh, bənsh).
 bend s. v. (*been); 214.
 beneaped a. (vbiniep*).
 benighted a. (bineetəd).
 bennet s. (bAAnət); 204.
 bent a. (beent).
 beseech v. (biseetsh); 265.
 best a. (bəs).

1) NED. s. v. *beat* s.³ quotes from a letter by Mr. Elworthy (1885) the spelling *bidiks*.

- bet s. v. (bæt).
 better a. (bædr, bætr).
 betwixt prep. (twæks*, bitwæks).
 beware v. (wAAr).
 bewitch v. (wiitsh).
 beyond prep. (bijæn, bijen, bijən); 230.
 bib s. (bæb).
 bickering s. (bikermənt); 481.
 bid s. v. (biid).
 big a. (bEg).
 bigness s. (begn-nis, bEgnis, bignis).
 Bill (biel).
 billet s. (bælet).
 billiards s. (bəljərdz).
 billow s. (bələr); 406 ff.
 bin s. (biin).
 bind v. (bæin); 431.
 bine 'band of twisted hay' s. (bæin); 272.
 birthday s. (brithdi).
 bisky-milks. (bæskimælk); 381 Add., 415 b and Add.
 bitch s. (biitsh).
 bite v. (beet); 271, 498 ff.
 bite s. (bæit).
 bitter a. (bEter*); 219.
 bitter-sweet 'kind of apple' s. (bæterzwit).
 black a. (blaak).
 blame s. v. (blEəm).
 blameless a. (blEəmlis).
 blare 'bellow' v. (blEər); 73 Add.
 blast s. v. (*blaas*); 196.
 blaze s. (blEəz).
 bleach v. (bleetsh).
 bleak, v. (blEək, bleek); 526, 538.
 bleat s. v. (bleet, blEət). See *bleak*.
 bleed v. (blid).
 blemish s. v. (bləmish).
 bless v. (blæs).
 blessed a. (blæsid).
 blind a. (bleen, *blain); 193, 272.
 blindfold a. (*blæinvool); 193, 272.
 blood s. (blid, bləd).
 bloody a. (blidi).
 bloom s. v. (blæəm).
 blossom s. (blAAsəm).
 blot s. v. (blAAt).
 blow s. v. (blAA, *bloo); pret. (*bloəd); p. p. (*əbloəd, *əbloo).
 blue a. (blyy).
 blush s. v. (blish).
 boar s. (buər).
 board v. (buərd).
 board 'table' s. (buərd).
 boast s. v. (buəs).
 boat s. (buət, boət).
 Bob (bAAb).
 boil v. (bwEiel); 300.
 boiler s. (bwEiler).
 bold a. (bool).
 bolus s. (boolis).
 bond s. v. (bAAAn).
 bone s. (buən).
 booby s. (bæəbi).
 book s. v. (bək).
 boose v. (bæəz); 288.
 to boot ad. (təbæt).
 booted a. (bæətid).
 booth s. (bæədh).
 bore s. v. (buər).
 borer 'augur' (bAAArjər, borjEr, boorier); 480 d.
 borrow v. (bAAari); 407, 411.
 bosom s. (bEzəm).
 both a. (bæədh, bədh, buədh, *bæəth, *buəth); 277, 512 ff.
 bottle s. (bAAAdl); 240.
 bottom s. (bAdəm); 369.
 bough s. (bəu); 281, 389.
 bound s. v. (bEun).
 bow v. (bəu).
 bow s. (*boo); 312 and Add.
 bowl s. v. (bEuel, bæuel).
 boy s. (bwEi); 300.
 brace s. (brEəs).
 bracket s. (brakət).
 brains s. (braainz).
 brake s. (brEək).
 bramble s. (bræml).
 bran s. (bræn).
 brand s. v. (bræn).
 brandise 'iron tripod' s. (brændis).
 bran-new ad. (væiernny).
 braze v. (brEəz).
 breach s. (breetsh).
 bread s. (bErd, *breed).
 breadth s. (bræt-th).
 break v. (breek); 434 f.
 breakfast s. v. (bræksəs, brEksəs); 559.
 breast s. (*bris, *brəs, *brEs); 196.
 breath s. (bræth).
 breathe v. (breedh).
 breathe 'open: said of ground when thoroughly dug and pulverized for a seed-bed' a. (breedh, breev).
 breech s. v. (bErtsh).
 breeches s. (bErtshez).
 bribe s. v. (brəib).
 bridge s. (bErdzh).
 bridle s. (brəid); 327.
 brim s. (brəm).
 brindled a. (bErndəld).
 bring v. (bring); 311, 388, 441, 522.
 bristle s. v. (bErsł).
 brittle a. (brıkl); 380.

- broach v. (broutsh).
 broken-backed a. (brook-bakəd); 337.
 broken victuals 'leavings of food' s. (brook vətɪz); 337.
 bronchitis s. (brEun-, bEɪrn-təitis); 380.
 brooch s. (broutsh).
 brood s. (bræd).
 broom s. v. (bræm).
 broth s. (brAAth).
 brother s. (brɪdher).
 brown a. (brEun).
 brunt s. (bEɪrnt).
 brush s. (*brɪsh, *bræsh, bEɪrsh).
 brush v. (bEɪrsh).
 bucket s. (bEkət).
 bud s. v. (bEd).
 build, v. (biəl*); 272, 441.
 building s. (biəldɪn*).
 buldery 'thunder, of weather' a. (bɔldəri); 170.
 bulge 'indent' v. (bəldzh, bEɪldzh).
 bull s. (bəl).
 bullet s. (bɪlɪt).
 bullock s. (bɪlɪk, bEɪlik).
 bundle s. (bɪnl).
 bung s. (bɪm); 340.
 burl v. (bEɪrdɪ, bEɪrdli); 73 and Add.
 burly a. (bauərli).
 burnt a. (bEɪrnt).
 burst s. v. (bɪs).
 bury v. (bEɪri); 416 Add.
 burying part. (bɪrɪn, bEɪrɪn).
 bush s. (bəʊsh).
 bushel s. (bəʊʃl); 301.
 business s. (bɪznɪs).
 buskin s. (bɪzɡɪn); 364 and Add.
 busy a. (bəzi).
 busy-good (bəzɪɡəd).
 but conj. (bɪt); before a vowel (bEd).
 butchery s. (bətʃəri).
 butt s. (bɪt).
 butt-end s. (bɪtɪn); 214.
 butter s. (bədər).
 buy v. (bai); 441.
 by prep. (bəi, bi, bi).
 by and bye ad. (bəmbaai).
 bye 'good-bye' (bwaai, bweei).
- C.**
- cabbage s. (kæbɪdzh).
 cable s. (kiəbl*).
 cackle v. (tʃakl); 383.
 cage s. (kiədzh*).
 cake s. (kiək*).
- calf s. (kaav, kjaav); 303, 304.
 call v. (kjal, kjaal, kAAɪ).
 camel s. (kamiəl).
 can v. (kæn); 443.
 candle s. (kænl).
 Candlemas (kanl-məs, kænɪl-məs).
 cane s. v. (kiən*).
 cap s. (kaap).
 cape s. (kiəp*).
 capital a. (kaapɪkəl); 480b.
 captain s. (kaapm).
 car s. (kaar).
 caravan s. (kaalivæn); 330.
 carcass s. (kaarkɪs).
 card s. (kjaard).
 care v. s. (kiər*).
 careless a. (kiərlɪs*).
 carpenter s. (kaafmɪdər).
 carpentry s. (kaafmɪdərɪn, *kaafmdri).
 caraway-seed s. (kaarvi-zɪəd); 318.
 carrier s. (karjər); 480d.
 carrot s. (kərət).
 carry v. (kjaar, kaar); 416.
 cart s. v. (kaart, kjaart).
 case 'box' s. (kiəs).
 case 'matter' s. (kiəz*).
 casement s. (kiəzmənt).
 cask s. (kaas*).
 cast s. v. (kaas*); 196.
 cat s. (kjæt, kæt).
 catch v. (kɛtʃ); 216.
 cat-hocked a. (kjætɪkəd).
 catkins s. (kjætskɪnz).
 cavalry s. (kaalvɪtri); 482a.
 cave s. (kiəv*, kEəv).
 cease v. (sees).
 ceiling s. (seelin).
 celery s. (sæləri).
 cellar s. (sɪlər, sələr).
 cement s. v. (səmənt).
 centre s. (seentər).
 certain a. (saartɪn).
 cess 'rate, tax' s. v. (sɛs).
 cess 'pile of unthrashed corn in the barn' s. (zæs).
 chafe v. (tʃiəf).
 chain s. v. (tʃaain).
 chain 'weaver's warp' s. (*tsheen), rarely (tʃaain); 292.
 chair s. (*tʃiər, *tʃEər); 290.
 chamber s. (tʃəmər); 252.
 chamois s. (ʃami); 466.
 champ v. (tʃaam).
 champion s. (tʃampɪn); 415b and Add.
 chance s. (tʃaans*).
 change s. v. (tʃiændzh*).
 change 'shift' s. (tʃændzh); 202.

changeable a. (tshAAndzhi); 202
 Add.
 char v. (tshoor); 285 Add.
 character s. (kaaritur).
 chase s. v. (tshivs*).
 cheap a. (tship).
 cheat s. v. (tsheet).
 cheek s. (tshik).
 cherry s. (tshĕri).
 chest s. (*tshis, *tshas); 196, 211 f.
 chew v. (tshəu); 519 and Add.
 chew v. (tshaam). See *champ*.
 chibbole 'onion' s. (tshibol).
 child s. (tshiul*); 103, 272.
 childless a. (tshiul-lis).
 chill v. (tshiul*).
 chill s. (*tshəl); 220.
 chilly a. (tshĕli).
 chimney s. (tshəmli, tshĕmli).
 chin s. (tshiin).
 china s. (tsheeni); 271, 498 ff.
 chine 'backbone etc.; hoops' s. (tshəin).
 chine v. (tshəin).
 chip s. v. (tshəp).
 chirp v. (tshĕrup).
 chives s. (səivz); 527.
 chockful a. (tshAkvył).
 choice a. s. (tshAAis, tshAis).
 choke v. (tshĕk).
 choller 'jaw' s. (tshAlər); 383.
 choose v. (tshəəz).
 chopped a. (tshAp).
 chops 'cheeks' s. (tshAAps).
 christening s. (kĕrsniin, kərsnin).
 Christian s. (kərstin); 415 b and
 Add.
 Christmas (kĕrsməs).
 cider s. (seedər, *saidər, *səidər);
 271, 501.
 cinder s. (zindər).
 cipher s. v. (*səifər); 73 and Add.
 circular a. (sĕrklər).
 cistern s. (sĕstərn).
 civil 'respectable' (səvl); 'polite'
 a. (səvi·əl).
 clack 'valve of a pump' s. (tlaak).
 claim s. v. (klaaim).
 clammer 'plank across a stream'
 s. (tlamər).
 clammy a. (tlami).
 clamps s. (tlamz).
 clap v. s. (klap).
 clap-gate s. (tlapgiət).
 clash v. (klaarsh, klaish, tlaarsh).
 clasp s. v. (tlaps, klaps).
 clat 'coarse talk' s. (tlat).
 clavel 'lintel over the fire-place
 opening' s. (tlaavl, tlaaəlbim);
 350.

claw s. (tləu); 507.
 clay s. (klaai).
 clean a. (kliən*, tleen); 265.
 clear a. v. (klier).
 cleave v. (klĕf, *kleev); 428, 430,
 446 ff.
 cleft a. (klĕf).
 clefty 'steep' a. (klĕfti).
 clench s. v. (klĕnt*); 446 ff. See
clinch.
 clergy s. (klaardzhi).
 clever a. (tləvər, kləvər).
 cliff s. (kliiv, *klĕf, *klĕf); 219,
 483 ff.
 climb v. (kləm); 433, 450.
 clinch v. (tlənt). See *clench*.
 cling v. (klɪŋ).
 clip s. v. (tləp, kləp).
 clit 'heavy, of a pudding' a. (tlət).
 cloam 'crockery' s. (tloom).
 clod s. (klaat, tlat); 376.
 cloddy a. (klaati); 376.
 close a. (kloes).
 close 'enclosure' s. (tloz).
 clot s. v. (tlat, klĕt, klīt).
 cloth s. (tlAAth, klaath, klAAf).
 clothess. (tlaadhərz, *kloəz, *kloz);
 361.
 cloud s. (klĕud).
 clout 'cuff, box' s. v. (kləut).
 cloven a. (klĕftid, *kloovm).
 clutch v. (tlətsh, klītsh).
 ciutch 'kind of weed' s. (tlĕtsh,
 klītsh).
 coach s. (kuetsh).
 coal s. (kAAI).
 coarse a. (kəəs).
 coarsely a. (kəsləik).
 coast s. (kuəs).
 coat s. (koət).
 cobweb s. (kAAbwĕb).
 coffee s. (kAAfi).
 coffin s. (kAAfin).
 cold a. (kool).
 collar s. v. (kAAlər, kAlər).
 collect s. (kAAlik).
 comb v. s. (koom).
 combe s. (kəəm); 277, 512 ff.
 comber s. (koomər).
 come v. (kAAm, kAm); 240.
 comfort s. (kAAmfərt, kAmfərt).
 comfortable a. (kAmfəbl); 415 b
 Add.
 comical a. (kAAmɪkəl, kAmɪkəl).
 commence s. (kəmeens).
 compass s. v. (kAAmpəs).
 complain v. (plaaɪn).
 complaint s. (plaaɪnt).
 complete a. (kəmpleet).
 compound v. (kAAmpEun).

- concerning (kənsaarnin).
 concernment s. (kənsaarnmənt).
 conduct s. (kAAAndƏk).
 consequence s. (kAAAnsikəns); 317.
 consequent a. (kAnsikənt); 317.
 contract s. v. (kAA·ntraak*).
 contrariness s. (kAntrinis, kAntrinis); 415b Add.
 contrary a. (kAAAntri); 415b Add.
 convey v. (kənvAAi; kənvAi).
 convict s. (kAAAnvik).
 cook v. s. (kək).
 cool a. (kəl, kyəl).
 coolly ad. (kəl-ləik).
 coop s. v. (kəəp).
 cord s. (kœrd, kuərd).
 corn s. (kAərn).
 coroner s. (krəunər).
 coroner's inquest (krəunərz kwæs).
 correct a. (kəræk).
 corruption s. (kərAApshən).
 cost s. v. (kAAs).
 cot s. (kAAAt, kAt).
 couch 'couch grass' s. (twiitsh, kəətsh); 238, 380, 571.
 cough v. (kAAAf); 389.
 coulter s. (kƏltər, *kooltər); 243.
 count v. (kEunt).
 counter s. (kEuntər).
 course s. (kəəs).
 court v. (kuert, kyert).
 court s. (kuert): Vale district; (kjiyert): Hill district; 242.
 cover s. v. (kƏvər).
 covert s. (kƏvər).
 covet v. (kƏvit).
 cow s. (*kEu, kEi); 466.
 coy a. (kAAi, kAi).
 crack v. (kraak).
 cradle s. (krEədl).
 cravat s. (kravət).
 crave v. (krEəv).
 crawl v. (skraal, skrAAAl, skraəl, kraal, skrAAAli).
 craze 'crack' v. (krEəz).
 crazy a. (krEəzd).
 creak s. v. (krEək, krīk); 538.
 cream s. (kreem).
 crease 'withers of a horse; ridge-tile of a roof' s. (krees).
 creator s. (kreeEutər).
 creditor s. (kƏrditər).
 creek s. (krīk).
 creep v. See §§ 428 f.
 creeper 'louse' s. (kriəpər).
 creepings s. (kreepingz).
 creepy 'to shudder' v. (kreepi).
 crescent s. (kƏrsənt).
 cress s. (kriis).
 cresses s. pl. (kriistez); 196.
 crew s. (kryy).
 crib s. (krəb).
 crimp v. (krəmp).
 crimson s. (kƏrmzn).
 cringe s. v. (kƏrndzh).
 cripple s. (krəpl).
 crisp a. (krəps).
 crock s. (krAAAk, krAk).
 crook s. v. (krək).
 crooked a. (krəkəd, krəkīd).
 crop s. v. (krap).
 cross s. (krAAs).
 crow s. (krAA).
 crow v. (*kroo); pret. (*kroəd); 312 Add.
 crowd s. (krEud).
 crown s. (krEun).
 cruel a. (kryel, kryyiəl).
 crumb s. (krəəm, kruum); 288.
 crunch v. (skrAAAntsh); 240.
 crupper s. (krəpər).
 crush v. s. (kƏrsh, *krīsh); 301.
 crust s. (*krīs); 196.
 crusts s. plur. (kƏrstəz, *krīstəz, *krəstəz).
 crusty a. (kƏrsti, *krīsti).
 crutch s. (kƏrtsh, *krītsh).
 cube s. v. (kyyb).
 cuckoo s. (gəəkəə); 385.
 cucumber s. (kEukəmər); 528.
 cud s. (kwiid); 571.
 cue s. (kyy).
 cull s. v. (kƏl).
 cupboard s. (kƏbīd).
 curb-chain s. (krƏbtsheen). See *chain*.
 curds s. (kridz, krədz).
 cure s. v. (kuər); 248.
 curl s. v. (kƏrdl).
 curse s. (*kƏrs); 332.
 cursed a. (kƏsid).
 curve s. v. (kƏrb); 355.
 cushion s. (kƏrshin); 301.
 cut v. (kƏt).
 cutter s. (kədər, kƏtər).

D.

- dace s. (dEəs).
 dag-end s. (dæ'g ii'n, dæ'gin).
 dainty a. (daainti).
 damage s. (damidzh).
 damn v. (daam).
 dance s. v. (daans*).
 danger s. (dændzhər); 202.
 dap s. v. (dap).
 dare v. (dEər).
 dart s. v. (daart).
 dash s. v. (daarsh, daish).

- date s. (dEet).
 daughter s. (*daarter, *darter); 311, 388, 441, 522.
 Davy (dEevi).
 day s. (dee); 292.
 daze v. (dEez).
 dead a. (deed).
 deadalive a. (deedlœiværd); 477 a.
 deaf a. (diif); 493 ff.
 deafness s. (diifnis).
 dealer s. (dEuler).
 dear a. (diær).
 dearth s. (diærth); 482 b.
 death s. (dæth).
 decease s. (dii·sees).
 deceit s. (deeseet).
 decency s. (deesensi).
 decent a. (deesent).
 deceptive a. (sEpti).
 decoy s. (kAAi, kAi).
 decoy duck s. (kAAi dÆk).
 deep a. (dip).
 defence s. (feens).
 defend v. (feen).
 defy v. (ifæi).
 deign v. (daain).
 deliver v. (dElœvæ).
 deliverance s. (deelværns); 468.
 den s. (deen).
 depend v. (dipeen).
 depth s. (diipth, *dæpth); 482 b.
 desert s. (deezert).
 desire v. (zæiær).
 desk s. (*dis, *dæs); 211, 394.
 despond v. (dispAAn).
 destructive a. (strÆkti).
 deuce s. (dyys).
 devil s. (dEvl).
 devote v. (vuæt).
 devour v. (divauær).
 diamond s. (dæimænt); 415 b and Add., 481.
 die v. (dæi).
 difference s. (dEfærns).
 different a. (dEfærnt).
 dig v. (dig); 445.
 digest v. (dæsdzhEs); 472 c.
 digested, p. p. (diis·dzhas·tid); 472 c.
 digestion s. (dii·dzhæs, disdzhæstshn); 400, 472 c.
 dike. See *dyke*.
 dimly ad. (dæmlœik).
 dimmet 'dusk' s. (dæmæt); 479.
 dip s. v. (dæp).
 disgrace s. v. (diis·grEæs).
 dish s. v. (diish).
 dislike v. (mæslœik); 472 d.
 displace v. (diis·plEæs).
 display s. v. (diis·plaii).
 dispute s. (dis·pyyt).
 distrain v. (straain).
 distress s. (diis·træs·).
 disturb v. (distÆrv).
 disturbance s. (distærvæns).
 ditch s. (diitsh, ditsh).
 dive s. v. (deev); 271, 498 ff.
 do v. (dyv); 86, 443 f.
 done 'into have done = to be ready' (vædÆnd); 444.
 doff v. (dAAf).
 dog s. (dAAg).
 dogged (dAAgid).
 doment 'fuss, row', s. (dyymænt); 481.
 donkey s. (dÆngk); 416.
 dose s. (dovs, dovz).
 dot s. (dAAt).
 double a. (dÆbl).
 dough s. occ. (dÆf); 389.
 dowlas s. (dEulis).
 down s. prep. (dEun).
 doze s. v. (dovz).
 dozen s. (dizn).
 draft s. (dræf, drEf, *draaf); 303, 304.
 drag s. v. (drÆg); 170.
 dragoon s. (dræ·g-gæ·n); 397.
 drain s. v. (draain).
 draught s. (dræf, *draaf); 303, 304.
 See *draft*.
 draw v. (drEæ, *draa), 303; 319.
 dray s. (draai).
 dread v. (dreed).
 dreadful a. (dreedfæl).
 dream s. v. (dreem).
 drear a. (drEær); 266.
 dredge s. v. (drædzh).
 dredger s. (drædzhær).
 dregs s. (drÆgz).
 drench s. v. (dræntsh).
 dress s. v. (dræs).
 dribble s. (dræblæt).
 drift s. v. (dræf, drEf*).
 driftway s. (drEfwee).
 dringet 'press, crowd' s. (dringæt); 479.
 drink v. (dringk); 431 f.
 drip s. v. (dræp).
 drive s. v. (dreev); 271, 424, 498 ff.
 driveller s. (dryylær); 350.
 drone s. (drEæn); 529.
 droop v. (dræp).
 drop s. v. (drap).
 dross s. (drAAs).
 drought s. (drEuth, dræith); 286, 482 b.
 druggist s. (drægister); 476.
 drunkard s. (drÆngkærd).
 dry v. intr. (drEui); 286.

dubious a. (*dzhyybīs); 244, 415 b
 Add. See *due*
 due a. (dæ, *dzhyy); 244.
 duke s. (*dzhyyk, *dzhyk). See *due*.
 dull a. (dʒl, dEl).
 durable a. (duurebl, *dzhyyrebl); 244, 248. See *due*.
 dust s. (dæust, dEust, *dist); 196, 235. See *pilum*.
 dust-house 'chaff-house' s. (dæust-əuz'); 196.
 dwell v. (dwʒl).
 dwelling s. (dwʒlin).
 dwindle v. (dændl); 222.
 dye s. v. (dæi).
 dyke s. (dik); 271, 498 ff.

E.

each a. (eetsh).
 eager a. (eegur).
 ear s. (jʒr); 261.
 eargrass 'annual or biennial grasses, sown upon arable land' s. (jʒrgras); 261.
 earnest a. (*arnis, jarnis); 261.
 earth s. (æth, Eʒth).
 ease s. (eez).
 east s. (ees).
 eat v. (eet).
 eaves s. (AAfis); 530.
 ebb s. v. (ʒb).
 eddish 'stubble' s. (ʒrish, Edish).
 edge s. v. (ædzh).
 eel s. (jEl); 261.
 eft s. (ebʒt); 154, 351.
 egg s. (eeg, neeg, ig, æg, øig); 214, note 1.
 eight num. (aait).
 eighteen num. (aaitin).
 eighth num. (ait-th).
 either a. (ʒdʒer); 284.
 eitherways ad. (eedʒerweez); 284.
 ejectment s. (dzhakmʒnt).
 elbow s. v. (ʒlboo).
 elders s. (ʒldʒrz).
 election s. (lækshʒn).
 eleven num. (IEbm, læbm); 351.
 elm s. (ʒlʒm).
 else (ʒls).
 embers s. (jʒmʒrz); 261.
 emmet s. (jamʒt); 261.
 empty v. (Emp, Emt); 416.
 encounter v. (kEuntʒr).
 encroachment s. (kroʒtshmʒnt).
 encumbrance s. (kAmbʒrns).
 end s. (iin, *een); 193, 214, 263.
 endless a. (*eenlis).
 engagement s. (giʒdzhmʒnt).

enlist v. (līs).
 enlisted a. (līstid).
 enough ad. (ʒnæ, ʒnyy, *ʒnʒf); 150, 281, 389.
 entanglement s. (tænglmʒnt).
 entice v. (təis).
 entire adj. (intəiʒr).
 envelope s. (eendiloop); 351.
 equal a. ad. (eekl, eekʒl, eegʒl); 317, 382.
 equally ad. (eekli, eekʒli, eegʒli); 317, 382.
 errand s. (aarʒnt, arʒnt); 378, 473.
 escape s. v. (skiʒp*).
 even a. ad. (eevm).
 even as 'when' conj. (iins); 352.
 evening s. (eevmin); 261.
 ever ad. (iʒvʒr, əvʒr).
 evil s. (eevl); 224.
 ewe s. (joo); 516 ff.
 except prep. (sæp).
 expense s. (Ekspeens).
 expensive a. (Ekspeensi).
 extravagance s. (strævʒgʒns).
 eye s. (ai, øi); 261.
 eyelet s. (øilʒt).
 eyelid s. (øiliid).

F.

fable s. (fEʒbl).
 face s. v. (fEʒs).
 facia s. (fEʒshʒr); 334, 476.
 fact s. v. (fak).
 factory s. (faktʒri).
 fade v. (fEʒd).
 fag v. (vaag).
 faggot s. (fakʒt).
 fail v. (faaiʒl).
 fain a. (faain).
 faint a. v. (faaint).
 fair s. (*fEʒr, *vEʒr); 290.
 faith s. (faaith, faath); 297.
 faith interj. (faai). See *fie*.
 faithful a. (faaithfʒl).
 fall s. v. (vaal, vAAI).
 fallow s. v. (vʒlʒr); 170 b; 212, 406.
 false a. (faals, fAAIs).
 fame s. (fEʒm).
 family s. (famli).
 fan s. (væn).
 fancical 'tasteful' (fænsikʒl); 480 b.
 fang s. (væng).
 far a. (vaar).
 fare s. (fEʒr).
 farewell s. interj. (faarwʒl).
 far-fetched a. (vaarvAAʒt, vaarvAAʒt, vʒrvAAʒt).
 farmer s. (faarmʒr).

farrier s. (farjer).
 farrow s. (vaar); 412. See *varth*.
 farrow v. (vaari); 407, 411.
 fart s. v. (faat)
 farther a. (vaarder).
 farthing s. (vaardn, faardn).
 fashion s. (faarshin); 415 b Add.
 fashionable, a. (faarshn-ubl).
 fast s. (fies*); 209.
 fast a. (vaas); 209.
 fat a. s. (faat, fat, vaat).
 fate s. (fEet).
 father s. (faadhør), occ. (vaadhør).
 fathom s. (vædhøm).
 faucet s. (fAAsæt).
 fault s. v. (fAæt); 327 and Add.
 faultless a. (fAAtlis).
 faulty a. (fAAti).
 favour s. v. (fEuvør).
 fawn 'young deer' s. (fAøn).
 fawning s. (vAAnin).
 fear s. (viur, nu*).
 fearless a. (viuriis).
 feast s. v. (fees, *fies*).
 feather s. (vædhør).
 feature s. (*feetshur); 369, 405.
 February (fæburi); 315 b and Add.
 fee s. v. (fii).
 feeble a. (feeb).
 feel v. (viel).
 feet s. (vit).
 feign v. (faain).
 fell v. (*vÆl¹).
 fellow s. (vÆlur); 406.
 fellow s. (fællur); 406.
 felon s. (fÆlun).
 felt s. (vÆlt), occ. (fÆlt).
 female a. s. (feemEæl).
 fence s. v. (feens).
 fencer s. (feensør).
 fennel s. (vinel).
 ferment v. (fermeent).
 fern s. (viørn); 195 c.
 ferret s. (fÆræt).
 ferry s. (fÆri).
 ferule s. (vÆrdl, *vÆræl); 374.
 fester s. v. (væstør), occ. (fæstør).
 fetch v. (vætsh, vatsh); 306, 441.
 fetlock a. (vEtlAk).
 fever s. (feevør); 265.
 few a. (vyy).
 fiddle s. v. (fidl), occ. (vidl).
 fiddler s. (fidlør).
 fidgit s. v. (fEdzhæt).

fie 'faith' interj. (fai, fai, faai).
 field s. (viel).
 fieldfare s. (vølvEer, vølvEeri, vølvEer, vølvEeri, vølvEer, *vielvEer); 415 b Add.
 fife s. (fæif).
 fifteen (veftin, viiftin).
 fig s. (fig), occ. (vig).
 figgy-pudding 'plum pudding' s. (vigi pÆdn), occ. (figi pÆdn); 415 b Add.
 fight s. v. (feet), occ. (veet)
 fighter s. (feetør).
 figure s. (figør).
 figure 'to cypher' v. (figøri); 73 and Add.
 filbert s. (vølbært).
 file 'smith's instrument' s. v. (vøiæl, vaaiæl); 345.
 file 'to file bills on a file' s. v. (fæiæl); 345.
 fill v. (viel).
 film s. (vølum).
 filmy a. (vilømi).
 filter s. v. (fæltør).
 filth s. (fælt, *fæltsh); 362.
 filthy a. (fæltøri).
 fin s. (fiin, viin).
 finch s. (vønsh).
 find v. (vøin); 431.
 finder s. (vøindør).
 fine a. (føin, vøin).
 finery s. (fæinøri)².
 finger s. (vingør).
 finish v. (fønish).
 fir s. (vÆr).
 fire s. v. (vøiør).
 firing s. (vaaierin).
 firkin s. (vÆrkin).
 firm a. (fÆrm).
 first s. (vÆs), occ. (fÆs).
 fish s. v. (viish), occ. (fiish).
 fist s. (vøis); 196.
 fit a. v. (fEt, fæt); 219.
 fitch 'polecat' s. (fætsh).
 fitter s. (fEter*).
 five a. (veev, *vøiv); 271, 498 ff.
 fives s. (vøiz); 352.
 fives-ball s. (vøizbAAl).
 fix v. (fEks).
 fixed a. (vfixsid).
 flag s. (vlæg).
 flag s. (vlægín); 480 e Add.
 flail s. (vlaaiæl).

1) The really dialectal word is *throw*; see § 87.

2) Elworthy prints *feuynurée* in his Glossic transcription, but *euy* is not given as a symbol; it is probably a misprint for *uy* = Palaeotype *ei*.

- flame s. (vlEəm).
 flange s. (vlændzh): 202.
 flank s. (vlængk); 349.
 flannel s. (vlænin); occ. (flænin);
 480 e Add.
 flap s. v. (vlap, flap).
 flap-dock 'fox-glove' s. (flapidAk,
 flaapdAk); 415 b Add.
 flare v. (vlEər).
 flask s. (flaas*); 394.
 flat a. (flaat).
 flaw s. (vlEər).
 flax s. (vlEks, vleks); 216.
 flaxen a. (vlEksn).
 flay v. (flaai).
 flea s. (vlee).
 fleam s. (flEəm).
 fledged a. (vlīsh).
 fledged p. p. (vvlEdzh).
 flee s. (vlee); 265.
 flee v. (vlii); 265.
 fleece s. (vliiz).
 fleet a. (vliit).
 flesh s. (vlaarsh).
 fling v. (vlīng, flīng).
 flint s. (vlEnt*).
 flip 'pliant' (vlīp, flīp).
 flock s. (vlAAk).
 flog v. (vlAg).
 flood s. (vləd).
 floor s. (vluur).
 flop s. v. (flAAp).
 flour s. (vlauər).
 flow v. (vlAA, *vloō); 312 Add.
 flower s. (flauər).
 flue s. (vlyy, flyy).
 fluent 'said of a river' a. (fuuent);
 248.
 flush a. (vləsh).
 flute s. (flyyt).
 flutter s. v. (vlīter).
 fly 'volare' v. (vlai). See *flee*.
 fly s. (vlii); 273.
 foal s. v. (voold); 378.
 foam s. v. (vuəm, voom).
 fob s. (vAAb).
 foe s. (voo).
 fog s. (vAg).
 fold s. v. (vool).
 -fold 'in threefold etc.' (-vool).
 folk s. (vook); 229.
 folks s. (voks).
 follow v. (vAAli, vAli); 407, 411.
 fond a. (vAAnd); 378.
 fool s. (vəl), emph. (fəəl); 345.
 foot s. (væt, vət).
 footed a. (vætīd).
 for prep. (vAAr, vĒr).
 forage s. v. (fAridzh).
 forbear v. (verbEr). See *abear*.
 forbid v. (verbiid, verbeed); 265.
 force s. v. (furst); 446 ff.
 ford s. (voerd).
 fore ad. (voer, voor, vvoor).
 fore- prefix (voor-).
 fore- end s. (*voor·een). See *end*.
 forehead s. (vorEd); see p. 9.
 foreign a. (fĒrent, fĒrin); 230,
 473, 480 e Add.
 foreland s. (voorlən).
 forenoon s. (voornəən).
 forest s. (fAAris).
 forge s. (vuerdzh).
 forge v. (voerdzh), occ. (foerdzh).
 forget v. (bigit, *vergīt); 436, 472 b.
 forgive v. (vergii); 219, 483 ff.
 fork s. (vArk, vAArk).
 form 'bench' s. (fĒrm); 230.
 form s. v. (fAArm).
 former a. (vAArmər).
 forrel 'cover of a book's. (*fArjəl);
 480 c.
 forsake v. (versEək); 438 f.
 forth ad. (vueth, voeth).
 fortnight s. (vArtnit).
 fortunate a. (vArtnet, vAArtnit).
 fortune s. (fArtin, fAArtin); 401,
 405, 480 e Add.
 forty (fAArti, farti), occ. (vAArti).
 forwards ad. (vĒrwerdz); 230.
 foul a. (vəuəl).
 foundation s. (fəundEərshən).
 fountain s. (fəuntin).
 four num. (vauər), emph. (fauər);
 286.
 fourfoot a. (*vArvət).
 fourpenny a. (vauərpmi).
 fowl s. (vəuəl).
 fowler s. (vəulər).
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 369.
 mumble v. (mÆml).
 mumbler s. (mÆml-lær).
 music s. (muuzik, mææzik); 248.
 must v. (mAs, *mÆs).
 mutter s. v. (mæðær).
 muxy 'muddy' a. (mÆksi).
 my pr. (mæi, mai, maai).

N.

nag 'provoke' v. (æg); 335.
 nail s. v. (naaiæl).
 naked a. (nEækid).
 nameless a. (nEæmlis).
 namesake s. (nEæmsEæk).
 nature s. (nEæter).
 naught s. (*noært); 305, 522.
 navel s. (nAAAl, næl, *navl); 203,
 350 and Add.
 navigate s. (næbigiæt, *navigEæt);
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 navy s. (næbi); 351.
 neap a. (nip).
 near a. (niær).
 neat a. (neet).
 neatherd s. (neetærd); 474.
 neck s. (næk).
 necklace s. (næklis).
 needle s. (niæl*).
 neither a. (nÆdhær); 284; 467 c.
 nerve s. (naarv).
 nesh a. (naarsh, naish); 208.

nest s. (næs).
 net s. (nit, næt).
 net a. (næt).
 nettle s. (nitl, nætl).
 nettle 'little' a. (nitl).
 never ad. (nævær).
 new a. (nyy).
 new-fangled a. (nyvængl).
 news s. (nyyz).
 newt s. See *eft*.
 next a. (næks).
 nib s. (næb).
 nice a. (nees).
 Nicholas (næklis, nEklis).
 night s. (neet, nit); 223.
 nighttimes 'evenings' s. (neetæimz).
 nine (neen); 271, 498 ff.
 nip s. v. (næp).
 nipple s. (næpl).
 no a. ad. (noo, nov, nAA); 312
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 nobody pr. (nooberi); 312 Add.,
 372.
 nod s. v. (nAAAd).
 noddle 'head' s. (nAdl, nAAAl); 372.
 nonplush s. v. (nAnplish).
 noose s. (ææz).
 northward ad. (nAærd); 317, 362.
 nose s. (noæz).
 notch s. v. (snatsh, *snAAAtsh).
 note s. (noæt).
 noted a. (noætid).
 notice s. (nootidzh, *noætis); 480 a.
 November (novæmber).
 nuisance s. (nyyshens); 364.
 nummit 'luncheon' s. (nAmæt,
 nÆmit); 283.
 nurse s. (nÆs, *nÆrs); 332.
 nut s. (nit).

O.

oar s. (uær, oær).
 oast s. (oæs); 278.
 oats s. (wEts, wæts); 278, 315.
 object v. (idzhEk).
 object s. (Abdzhik).
 oblige v. (bliidzh); 271, 498 ff.
 observe s. (bzaarv).
 occasion s. (kizhæn); 252.
 occupy v. (Akipæi).
 odd a. (AAAd).
 odds s. (AAAdz).
 odious a. (hoodzhæs); 372, 387.
 off ad. (oof); 229.
 offal s. (AAfl).
 offence s. (feens).
 offend v. (feen).
 office s. (AAfis).
 oil s. v. (AAiæl, Aiæl).

old a. (ool).
 omnibus s (Amligəs, Amligəs).
 once adv. (*wAAAns); 240.
 one num. (*wAAAn, *wæn, *wən, uun); 240.
 onion s. (ingən, ing-gen).
 only ad. (Anli, Ēni).
 ooze v. (oəz).
 open a. s. v. (oop).
 openhearted a. (oo·pmaa·rtəd).
 opening s. (oopment); 481.
 or conj. (AAr).
 oracle s. (AArikəl).
 orange s. (Ērindzh); 230.
 oration 'disturbance' s.
 (noorĒushən, orĒershən); 335.
 orchard s (AArtshEt, Artshet); 478.
 ore s. (uər); 285.
 organ s. (AArgin); 480e Add.
 ornament s. (Arniment).
 orts s. (AArtz).
 other a. (tAdhər, tĪdhər).
 ought v. (AAf, oof, *AAt); 522.
 our pr. (auər).
 out ad. (Eut).
 oval a. (ooviəl); 414.
 oven s. (oovm).
 overplus s. (ooverplish); 366.
 overwhelm v. (ooverwĒlēm).
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P.

pace s. (pĒəs, pĒəz).
 pack s. v. (paak*).
 paddock s. (parik); 373.
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 pail s. (paaiəl).
 pain s. (paain).
 paint s. v. (paaint).
 pair s. (*pĒər); 290.
 palace s. (paalīs).
 pale a. (pĒəl).
 paling s. (paailin); 257.
 palm s. (pĒēm); 201.
 pan s. (pĒən); 201.
 pancake s. (pæng·kiək).
 pank 'pant' v. (pængk); 533.
 paper s. (pĒəpər).
 parable s. (paarəbl).
 parcel s. (paasl).
 parlour s. (paalder).
 parsnip s. (paasnəp).
 parson s. (paasn).
 part s. v. (pĒərt); 201.
 partridge s. (paatrīdzh).
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passed p. p. (upaas*).
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 pasture s. (*paastshər); 369, 405.
 pate s. (pĒət).
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 pay s. v. (paai).
 payment s. (paaimənt).
 pea s. (pee).
 peace s. (pees).
 peach s. (peetsh).
 peak s. (pik); 538.
 pearl v. (pĒrdl).
 pease s. (peez).
 peat s. (peet).
 pebble s. (pApl); 534.
 pebbly a. (popəli); p. 9.
 peck s. (pæk).
 pedigree 'tale, story' s. (pidigri, pədigri).
 pedlar s. (pidlər, pədlər).
 peep v. (pip); 441.
 peg s. v. (pæg).
 pen 'writing-pen' s. (peen).
 pen 'cattle-pen' s. (pəin); 214.
 pencil s. (peensl).
 penitent a. (pinitənt, pinitənt).
 pension s. (pinshin, pinshin, pənsən, *peenshin).
 penthouse s. (peentis); 535.
 peony s. (pəini); 269, 415 b.
 pepper s. v. (pəpər).
 perfect a. v. (pĒrfik).
 perhaps ad. (bi-ap, *praps); 472 b.
 perish v. (pĒrish).
 perl v. (pĒrdl).
 perry s. (pĒri).
 perseverance s. (prizivierənz); 530.
 persuade v. (pərzwAArd).
 pert a. (piərt); 195 c.
 pertinence s. (pĒrtinəns).
 pet s. v. (pæt).
 pew s. (*pjyy); 308.
 phial s. (vəiəl).
 pickle s. v. (pĒkl).
 pie s. (pai).
 piebald a. (pəibaal).
 piece s. (pis).
 pig s. (pĒg, peg, peeg); 224.
 pigeon s. (pidzhin).
 pilchard s. (pəltshərd).
 pile s. v. (pəiəl).
 pilfer v. (pəlfər).
 pilgrimage s. (pəlgərmīdzh).
 pillage v. (pəlidzh).
 pillar s. (pələr).
 pillow s. (piəl*, pələr); 406, 413.
 pillowed a. (pəpərd).
 pilum 'dust' s. (pələm).

- pin s. v. (piin).
 pinch s. v. (pənsh).
 ping 'push' v. (pɪŋg, pɪŋg, pɪŋg);
 431 f., 446 f.
 pinnacle s. (pənɪkəl).
 pint s. (pəɪnt).
 pip s. (pəp).
 pit s. (piit, *pət); 220.
 pitch v. (*pətsh); 220.
 pitch s. (piitsh, *pətsh); 220.
 pitchy a. (piitshi); 220.
 pith s. (pEth).
 pit-hole 'grave' s. (*pət-, *pəti-ool);
 220, 415 b Add.
 place s. (plEus).
 plague s. v. (plaaig); 257.
 plain s. (plaaɪn).
 plain a. (plaaɪn, *pleen); 292.
 plaintiff s. (plaaɪnti, *pleenti); 292.
 plane s. v. (plEɪn).
 plank¹ s. (pləntsh); 383.
 plant s. (plənt*).
 planted a. (pləntəd).
 plaster s. v. (plEstər); 196, 251.
 plate s. (plEət).
 play s. v. (plaaɪ).
 plea s. (plee).
 plead v. (pleed).
 please v. (pleez).
 pleasure s. (*plizhər); 405. Cp.
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 plenty (pleenti).
 plim v. (pləm).
 plinth s. (plənt); 362.
 plot s. (plaat, plat, plæt).
 plough s. v. (plEu, pləu); 281, 389.
 poach v. (pAAatsh, prəutsh); 331.
 poacher s. (pAAatshər, prəutshər);
 331.
 pocket s. (pAAaget, pAkət).
 pod s. (pAAD).
 point s. v. (*pwAAaint, *pwAaint,
 *pAAaint), rarely (pəɪnt); 299.
 poison s. v. (pwEɪzn).
 pole s. (puəl).
 police s. (poo·lis).
 Polly (pAli).
 pond s. v. (pAAn).
 pook s. (pək).
 pool s. (pəl).
 pop s. v. (pAAAp).
 Pope s. (pop).
 poplar s. (pəplər).
 port s. (pəɪrt).
 portmanteau s. (pAA's-mæ·nl);
 397.
 post 'letter-' s. (puəs); 275.
 post 'gate-' s. (pAAs); 275.
 pot s. v. (pAAAt).
 potatoe s. (tEədi, tɛti); 251, 466.
 poultry s. (pɛltri).
 pound s. v. (pEun).
 pour v. (pauər).
 praise s. v. (praaiz).
 prate s. v. (prEət).
 prater s. (prEətər).
 pray v. (prai).
 prayers s. (praaɪəz).
 preach v. (preetsh).
 preachment s. (preetshmənt).
 precept s. (preə'səp).
 present s. (præzənt).
 present v. (pərzeənt).
 press, s. v. (præs).
 pretence s. (pəteəns).
 pretend v. (pəteən).
 pretender s. (*pəteəndər); 474 ff.
 prevent v. (pəveənt).
 price s. (praɪz).
 prick v. (prEk).
 prickle s. (prEkl).
 priest s. (prees); 265.
 prim a. (prəm).
 prince s. (pɛrns).
 princess s. (pɛrnsæ's).
 print s. v. (pɛrnt).
 prize s. v. (praɪz prəɪz).
 produce v. (*pərdzhyys).
 project v. (ɪdzhE·k).
 prong s. (sprAAAng); 363.
 proof s. (prəʊf).
 prop s. v. (prAAAp).
 propagate v. (prApɪgɪət).
 proper a. (prAAApər).
 proud a. (prEud).
 prove v. (prəʊv).
 prowl v. (prEʊəl).
 prythee (pɪdthi).
 pudding s. (pɛdn).
 pull s. v. (pəl).
 pullet s. (pɛlɪt).
 pully s. (pɛli).
 pulpit s. (pɛlpɪt).
 pump s. v. (plɛmp).
 puncheon s. (pənshɪn); 301.
 puppet s. (pAAApət).
 pure a. (pəər).
 purse s. (pɛs).
 push s. v. (pəəsh).
 puss s. (pəəz).
 pussy s. (pyyzi).
 put v. (pɛt).
 pyramid (pəɪmənt, pəlɪmənt,
 pəɪmEt, pəlɪmEt); 328, 478, 481.

1) In the wordlist for the Axe-Yarty district (Ellis V) plantsh is defined as 'a flooring, not a single plank'.

Q.

quack v. (swakʉti); 363.
 quail s. (kwaaiɪl).
 quaint a. (kwaaint).
 quake v. (kwɛk).
 quaker s. (kwɛkɪr).
 quarrel s. v. (kwAArdl); 204.
 quarrelling a. (kwAArlin).
 quarry s. v. (kwAAr); 416.
 quart s. (kwArt).
 quay s. (kee); 292 and Add.
 queer a. (kwɛr); 266.
 quickness s. (kwɪkn-nis).
 quiet a. (kwɪɪt).
 quill s. (kwɪɪl*).
 quilt s. (kwɛlt).
 quiver s. (kwəvɪr).
 quoin s. (kwaain, kween); 536.

R.

racket s. (rakɪt).
 rafter s. (rɛftɪr*); 17, 200.
 rage s. v. (rɛɪdʒh).
 rail s. (raaiɪl).
 railing s. (raailin).
 raiment s. (raaimɛnt).
 rain s. v. (hraain).
 raise v. (raaiz, rɔiz); 49, 289.
 rake s. v. (rɛk).
 ramble v. (rambl).
 range s. v. (rɛɛndʒh); 202.
 rank a. (rAngk); 204 and Add.
 rap v. (hrap).
 rape s. (hrɛp).
 rapid a. (raapid).
 rare 'underdone' a. (rɛr); 266.
 rash a. s. (raish).
 rasp v. (hrɛp); 395.
 rat s. (raat).
 rate s. v. (rɛt).
 rathe 'early, precocious' (rɛɪdh, rɛv).
 raw a. (hrAA).
 ray s. (hraai).
 reach v. (reetsh); 441.
 read v. (hreed).
 real a. (hrɛɪl); 259.
 realm s. (rɛɪlɛm).
 ream s. v. (reem).
 reap v. (hrip).
 reap 'unbound sheaf' s. (reep).
 rear v. (rɛr).
 reason s. v. (reezn).
 rebel v. (reebɛɪl).
 receipt s. (hreeset).
 receive v. (reeseev).
 reckon v. (rækn, vrækn); 329.

reckoning s. (ræk'n-in, rɛklin).
 red a. (ɛrd).
 redness s. (ɛrdnis).
 reed s. (hriid).
 reel s. v. (reel); 265.
 refreshment s. (frashmɛnt); 211.
 refuse s. (reefyɪz).
 regiment s. (ɛrdʒhmɛnt); 415 b
 Add.
 reign s. v. (hraain).
 reins s. (hraainz).
 reive 'sift seed or grain' v. (rɔiv).
 rejoice v. (reedʒhAAis).
 relation s. (reelɛrshɛn).
 remembrance s. (mɛmbɛrns).
 rend v. (*reen); 214.
 rendezvous s. (rændivə).
 rennet s. (ɛrnet).
 rent s. v. (reent).
 repent v. (reepeent).
 require v. (kwɔir).
 reserve s. v. (reesaarv).
 rest s. v. (ræs).
 reticule s. (rædɪkl).
 retinue s. (rætn-ni).
 reverence s. (rɪvɛrns).
 reward s. (reewAArd).
 rheumatic 'rheumatism' s.
 (rymatɪk).
 rib s. (rɛb).
 rich a. (riitsh).
 richness s. (ɛrtshnis).
 rid v. (ɛrd).
 riddance s. (ɛrdɛns).
 riddle s. (hriidl).
 ride v. (hrɔid, rɔid); 424.
 ridge s. (ɛrdʒh).
 rig s. v. (hriɪg).
 right a. (*vrɔit); 223, 329.
 rim s. (rɛm).
 rime s. v. (hrɔim).
 rind s. v. (hrɔin).
 ringlet s. (hrɪŋglɛt).
 rip s. v. (rɛp).
 ripe a. (hrɔip).
 rise v. (rɔiz); 424.
 risk s. v. (ɛrsk).
 roach s. (hruɛtsh).
 road s. (hruɛd).
 roast s. v. (ruɛs, rAAAs, rAɛs); 275.
 rob v. (rɛb, ræb); 230, 233.
 robin s. (ræbin).
 rocket s. (rAkɛt).
 rod s. (hræd, ræd, *rAAAd).
 roof s. v. (rɛv, *hryɪf).
 rook s. (ræk).
 room s. (rɛəm).
 root s. v. (rɛt).
 rooted a. (rætid).
 rope s. (hruɛp, hrop).

ropy a. (ruɐpi).
 rose s. (hrœz).
 rot s. v. (hraat, rat, *rAAAt).
 rotted a. (hrætɛd, ratɛd).
 round a. (rEun).
 row 'row or ridge in which grass falls when cut with a scythe' s. (ryy); 308.
 row v. (ræu); 312.
 row-boat s. (rəubuet); 312.
 rubbish s. (rɛbɪdʒ, *rɛbɪʃ); 480a.
 ruin s. v. (ryyin).
 rule s. (rəl); 309.
 rummage s. (hrAmɪdʒ); 240.
 run v. (ɪrn, *rɪn); 235.
 runaway a. (ɛrnawee).
 ruse 'slip, fall' v. (ryyz).
 rush s. v. (rɪʃ).
 rushes s. (vrEksn, hrEksn); 329.
 russet a. s. (ɪrsɛt).
 rust s. v. (ɪrs, *rɪs).
 rusted a. (*rɪstɪd).
 rusty a. (ɪrstɪ, *rɪstɪ).
 rut s. (rEut).

S.

sack s. (zaak*, zak).
 sad a. (zæd).
 saddle s. (zædl).
 saddler s. (zædlər).
 safe a. (zaaf, saaf, *sɛv); 304.
 safety 'kind of match' s. (*sɛvftɪ); 304.
 safety s. (saafɪ); 304.
 sage s. (zɛdʒ).
 sail s. v. (saɪl).
 sailor s. (*zɛlɪr); 290.
 saint s. (saɪnt).
 salad s. (saalɛt, salɛt); 376, 479.
 sale s. (zɛl).
 saleable a. (zɛlɛbl).
 sallow a. (zæl); 406.
 salt s. v. (zaalt, zalt).
 salter s. (zaaltər).
 sand s. (zæn).
 sap s. (zɛp); 201.
 sapling s. (zɛplɪn); 201.
 sappy a. (zɛpi); 201.
 sash s. (saarʃ, saɪʃ).
 Saturday (zædərɪ).
 sauce s. (saas*, saars); 303.
 saucy a. (saarsɪ).
 savage a. (sæbɪdʒ).
 save v. (sɛv); 304.
 Saviour s. (sɛvjər).
 saw s. (zaa, saa, zAA); 303.
 sawpit s. (zaapɪt).
 sawyer s. (zaajər).

say v. (zee), says (zæs, zɛs); 292 f., 443.
 scab 'on a wound' s. See *scud*.
 scad 'shower' s. (skæd).
 scaffold s. (skjafl).
 scramble s. (skaml).
 scandal s. (skænɪl).
 scandalous a. (skænɛləs).
 scar s. v. (skoʊr, skoor).
 scarce ad. (skiəs, skiəs*); 209, 255.
 scarceness s. (skiəsɪs).
 scare v. (skɪər).
 sceptre s. (sɪptər).
 scholar s. (skAAɪlɪd); 477a.
 school s. (skəl).
 scissors s. (sizez).
 scold s. v. (skool).
 scoop s. v. (skəp).
 score s. v. (skoʊr, skoor).
 scot s. (skAAɪt).
 scrap s. (skrap).
 scrape s. v. (skrɛp).
 scraper s. (skrɛpər).
 scrawl s. v. (skraal).
 scream s. v. (skreem).
 screech s. v. (skritʃ).
 scribbler s. (skrɛblər).
 scribe v. (skrɪb).
 scripture (skrɛptər); 369, 405.
 scud 'over a wound' s. (skɛd).
 scud 'a shower' s. (skæd); 241.
 scurf s. (skrɛf).
 seal s. v. (sɛl).
 seam s. v. (ziəm).
 seaman s. (seemən).
 search s. v. (saartʃ).
 season s. (seezn).
 seat s. v. (seet).
 second a. v. (sækən).
 second-hand a. (sækənæ'n).
 secret a. (seekrɪt).
 secure a. v. (seekuər); 248.
 sediment s. (sɪdɪmənt, sɛdɪmənt).
 see v. (zii); 436.
 seed s. (*ziəd, zɪd).
 seeding s. part. (zɪdɪn).
 seedling s. (zɪdlɪn).
 seek v. (zɪk, sɪk); 441.
 seem v. (zəm, zɪm).
 segment s. (zɛgmənt).
 seine v. (seen).
 seize v. (seez).
 seizure s. (*seezhər).
 seldom ad. (sɪldəm, zɛldəm).
 self pr. (zɛl).
 sell v. (zɪl, zəl, sɪl); 441.
 send v. (*zeen, *seen); 214.
 sender s. (*zeendər).
 sense s. (seens).
 senseless a. (seenslɪs).

- September (sæptəmbər).
 serge s. (saardzh).
 sermon s. (saarmənt); 481.
 serpent s. (saarpənt).
 servant s. (saarvənt).
 serve v. (saar).
 set v. (zɪt, zət); 436.
 setter s. (zætər).
 settle 'seat' s. (zɪtl, zætl).
 settle v. (sætl).
 seven num. (zæbm, zEbm); 351.
 seventeen num. (zæbmtin).
 seventh num. (zæbmt, *zEbmth); 362.
 seventy num. (zæbmti).
 sever v. (səvər).
 several a. (sɪvəl); 415 b.
 sew v. (zoo); 516 ff.
 shade s. v. (shiəd); 413.
 shadow s. (shædʊ); 413.
 shady a. (shiədi).
 shake v. (shiək*, shEək); 438 f.
 shall v. (shaal); 86, 443.
 shallow a. (shalər); 406.
 shambling a. (shaamlɪn).
 shame s. v. (shiəm).
 shameless a. (shiəmlis*).
 shape s. v. (shiəp*).
 shapeless a. (shiəplis*).
 shard s. See *shord*.
 share s. v. (zhiər, shiər*).
 shave s. v. (zhiəv, shiəv*).
 sheaf s. (zhiiv, shiiv).
 shear s. v. (zhiər, shiər); 434 f.
 sheath s. (zhiif, shiif).
 sheep s. (ship, shɪp).
 sheet s. (shit).
 shelf s. (shɪlf, shəlf).
 shell s. v. (shɪl, shəl).
 shelter s. (shɛltər, shəltər).
 shepherd (shɪpər); 474.
 sherry s. (shɛəri).
 shield s. (shiəl*).
 shift s. v. (shɛf); 220.
 shift 'a garment' s. (shəf, shəf); 220.
 shifter s. (shɛftər); 220.
 shilling s. (shəlin); 220.
 shin s. (shiin).
 shine s. v. (shiin); 271, 498 ff.
 shingles s. (shɪŋglz); 366.
 ship s. (shəp).
 ship 'shepherd's dog' s. (shɪp); 474.
 shiver s. v. (shəvər).
 shoe s. v. (shyy, shə).
 shoot v. (shɛt).
 shord 'broken crockery' s. (shAərd, shəərd).
 shore s. (shəər).
 short a. (shAArt).
 shot s. (shAArt).
 shovel s. v. (shEuəl, shəuəl, shəvəl); 350.
 showed pret. (*shoəd); 312 Add.
 shreak s. v. See *shriek*.
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 your pr. (jĒr); emph. (jovr).
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Z.

- zealous a. (zilis).

Additions.

p. 10. Carstens = Carstens Zur dialektbestimmung des ME Sir Firumbras. Diss. Kiel. 1884.

Heuser = Heuser Die ME. legenden von St. Editha und St. Ethelreda. Diss. Göttingen. 1887.

p. 11. Stodte = Stodte Ueber die sprache der „Katharine-Gruppe“. Diss. Göttingen. 1896.

§ 73. Also *burl* has no (-i) in WSD., but the Wdb. gives (bȳrdli). See also Gloss. s. v. *crawl*, *sigh*. The verb *to cypher* is pronounced (səifər); but it is a loanword from standard English: the dialectal word is (figəri) 'figure' with the regular *i*-ending.

Another argument showing that the omission of (-i) is due to a mistake (unless, of course, the word is not really dialectal, like *to cypher*) is the fact that *blare* 'to bellow' is transcribed by Mr. Elworthy with (blEər), although we find *blëary* in Barnes's poems (see NED. s. v. *blare* v. 1).

§ 155, 8. Add quay.

§ 155, 9. Add bag (*beeg*), which I am unable to account for.

§ 160, 3. Add groove, explained by NED. as an adoption from Dutch.

§ 160, 6. Add (tshoor) 'char', on which see § 285 Add.

§ 193. Note (bleen) 'blind'; see § 272.

§ 198. In Pewsey, where ME. *e* has become (e), *wrestle* is pronounced (ræsl), with (æ) pointing to ME. *a*.

§ 202. With (AA) in *changeable* (tshAAAndzli) cp. the spelling *chonge* in one of the Kildare poems (Fall and Passion l. 52, in Heuser's edition).

§ 203. On *gape* see § 545 Add.

§ 204. On the pronunciation of *r* in Pewsey cp. § 547 Add. Probably also (A) in W. Somerset (rAngk) 'rank' owes its rounding to the labiovelar pronunciation of *r*.

§ 225. Cp. also *rackety* for *rickety* in Washington Irving (see NED. s. v. *rickety* a. 3.).

§ 235. Perhaps it is open to doubt whether (titshi) 'touchy' is due to the influence of standard English. For we find both (E) and (ə) in *teat*, *oats*, where neither (ə) nor (E) can be due to standard English. So that (titshi) and (tEtshi) may both be genuine.

§ 241. Note (ɐmæng) in Tilshead, (ɐmeng) in Pewsey, both pointing to ME. *amang*.

§ 246. (jʔ) in *humour* as well as (sh) in *sugar* are probably due to standard English; cp. (ʏydzʰ, əədzʰ) 'huge'. — (fʔɪnəl) 'funeral' may owe its (ʔ) to short ME. *ii*.

§ 285. Some forms in Pewsey: (stuə) 'stir' (Pewsey p. 15) and (tshuə) 'char' (Pewsey § 72, 3) also seem to point to ME. *ō*, as well as W. Somerset (stoor) 'stir', (tshoor) 'char'. But cp. Pewsey (shuət) 'shirt' (Pewsey § 72, 2c) and (duət) 'dirt' (Pewsey § 74, 1).

§ 292. If (kee) 'quay' is due to standard English, it must have been borrowed in the 18th century, when the word was so pronounced in standard English (NED. s. v. *key* s. 2).

§ 295. The influence of *weigh* on the pronunciation of *weight* also shows itself in Chippenham (wæit) and Pewsey (wæet); the latter certainly points to ME. *ai*, for ME. *-iht* has resulted in (-ɛit) in Pewsey (Pewsey § 73, 4).

§ 312. It seems most likely that (oo) by the side of (AA) is due to standard English. But if (AA) is the regular dialectal sound it is difficult to account for (oof) by the side of (AAf) 'ought'; (noo) may be a borrowing from standard English for genuine (nAA), but (noo) might also be the regular correspondent of ME. *nō*.

§ 317. Loss of unstressed (w) occurs in the Juliana legend: *uppart* (Stodte § 47, 2). On the loss of unstressed (w) in OE. cp. Element. § 562.

§ 327. I have also noted (fAAɪt) in Ellis's lists for Stanhoe (Norfolk) and Mid-Shropshire. Pewsey has (fææt).

§ 329. The labial or labiovelar articulation of *r* also explains why initial *r* is often heard as (vr); see § 204, note 2. In one place Elworthy transcribes *rushes* with initial (vr-), in another with (r-); see §§ 101, 547 Add.

§ 336. Medial *n* is sometimes written double by Mr. Elworthy, but only *after voiceless stops*: *hackney* (akn-ni), *quickness* (kwikn-nis), *retinue* (rætn-ni), *sickness* (zikn-nis), *witness* (wiitn-nis). That *greatness* is transcribed (gʔɪrtnis), with a single *n*, may be due to an oversight and proves nothing. But after other consonants than voiceless stops Elworthy never writes (n-n) e. g. in the transcriptions of *business*, *deafness*, *illness*, *redness*, *stiffness*, *wickedness*. As the two *n*'s are separated by a hyphen it would seem that Mr. Elworthy heard something different from a long *n*. Moreover it would be strange that the *n* should be long only after voiceless stops. Perhaps the real sound is a glottal catch between the voiceless stop and the (-n). Such a consonant is heard e. g. between voiceless stops and the nasal ending of the infinitive in the dialect of NW. Groningen: (loup'm) 'Dutch loopen', (dEngk'ng) 'Dutch denken' (the ' denotes the glottal catch).

§ 337. See also H. A. 113 p. 31 ff., where O. Ritter gives many additional instances of insertion (and also of loss) of unstressed *n* in English. He points out that the phenomenon is found in many languages, Dutch, French, German, Greek. Dr. Salverda de Grave (*Handelingen van het Tweede Nederlandsche Philologen-Congres*,

Leiden 1900 p. 95 ff.) has treated of *n*-insertion in Dutch. He thinks it is due to the difference of stress between Dutch and French. The unstressed syllable in French has a secondary, in Dutch a very weak stress. The attempt to pronounce the foreign word more 'correctly' leads to the insertion of *n*, which gives more weight to the unstressed syllable. See de Grave's defence of his explanation in *Taal en Letteren*, August 1904. It is also principally found in foreign words, where de Grave's explanation is possible only. But now that Ritter has shown that *n* is sometimes inserted in native words in German, Greek, and in French itself, de Grave's theory seems hardly tenable.

§ 350. The change of medial *v* to (w) occurs in the English dialects 'along the East of England from Kent through Essex and Suffolk to Norfolk inclusive' (Ellis V p. 132). Cp. (dEu) 'dove' in Cambridgeshire (Ellis V p. 251), (dEu-*vs*) 'dove-house' in Norfolk (Ellis p. 270), (shTul) 'shovel' in Suffolk (Ellis p. 286), and Scotch *brawlie* 'bravely' (in Burns).

The same twofold development of medial *v* as in our dialect (change to *w* and disappearance) is found in South African Dutch: *begrawe* for Dutch *begraven*, *seuwe* Dutch *zeven*; *aand* Dutch *avond*, *boo* Dutch *boven*, *blij* Dutch *blijven*. Note that medial *w* in these cases denotes a semivowel, not the Dutch *w* (on the latter see v. Hamel, *La Parole*, July 1903).

§ 357. Pewsey has (v) in *scythe*, (f) in *twelfth*, *seventh*. Cp. also OE. *fæcele* and *pæcele*.

§ 359. Initial *th* is also sometimes lost in the pronunciation of *this*: (*vz*); see § 132.

§ 362. That the change of final (th) to (t) may be phonetic seems to be shown by Pewsey and East-Sussex (mTnt) 'month'.

§ 363. A few more cases of this variation are treated by Holthausen, H. A. 113 p. 36 (MnE. *lap*, *lithe*, and *lump*). Cp. also English *trunk*, Dutch *tronk* and *stronk*.

The pronunciations (dzhitsh, dzis) 'such' are probably due to the assimilation of the initial to the final consonant. A similar form is occasionally heard in Pewsey: (tshəs) instead of the regular (sitsh), Cp. Pewsey p. 21, note.

§ 364. Medial voiced consonants may be original in *buskin*, cp. NED. s. v. *buskin*, and Ned. *Woordenboek* s. v. *broos* I.

§ 371. (mæsk) is probably connected with *muxy*.

§ 376. The Katharine-group show instances of final (t) for -*d*, not only in unstressed syllables but also in stressed (*feont*, *ort*; Stodte § 52). The unvoicing of final stressed consonants is occasionally found in other dialects too (Horn, *Beiträge* p. 38 ff.); cp. also *behint*, *beyont* in Burns. Note, however, that the change seems to be limited to *d* after *l*, *n*. Cp. also the preterites *built*, *bent* etc.

§ 381. Note also (sk) in (Esk) 'hearse', (mæsk) 'mist' (§ 371 and Add.), *bisky-milk* (see § 415 b Add.).

§ 389. More instances of final (k) for OE. -g after liquids and vowels, in ME. and Mnd., have been collected by O. Ritter in a note, *Anglia Beiblatt* 15 p. 301—304.

§ 400. Note also (səvi·əl) 'civil' if it means *polite*; *co·ntract* v. as well as s., *si·tuation*.

§ 406, note. Down to the early 19th century *bellows* was pronounced (beles). G. Russel gives *yaller* as the polite 18th century pronunciation of *yellow* (*Collections and Recoll.* Tauchnitz ed. I, 12). That (-ou) is a spelling-pronunciation is further shown by *barrow*, a word that was obsolete as early as the 14th century, and was re-introduced into literary English from the Southern dialects. But its standard pronunciation cannot be due to these dialects, for they pronounce and, no doubt, have pronounced for a long time, (bɛrə).

§ 414. The strong secondary stress of the ending -el : *angel* etc. is also found in the (18th century) dialect of the Baronies of Forth and Bargy (cp. Heuser, *Kildare Gedichte*, p. 60). Many of the W. Somerset words are given with a weak ending: *bushel* (bəʃəl), *devil* (dɛvəl), *morsel* (mɑːsəl), *pencil* (peɪnsəl), *threshold* (dræʃəl); this pronunciation *may* be due to standard English in some cases, but hardly in *threshold* e. g., where literary English pronounces (-ould).

§ 415. How thoroughly the first part of the word has been forgotten is shown by (vuəd) 'afford', where initial (v) has been substituted for regular (f). See p. 182.

§ 415 b. Other instances of the loss of a syllable are (kʌmfəbl) 'comfortable', (kʌntri) 'contrary', (fəbəri) 'February', (vɪdʒɪtəlz) 'vegetables', (ɪrdʒɪmənt) 'regiment'.

(kəstɪn) 'Christian' probably represents earlier *Christen*, which has been refashioned in standard English to *Christian*, but that does not explain the clear (i) of the ending. It seems that the endings -en, -ion (or with syncope -in) etc. have been taken for the suffix -ing; this seems the best way to account for (-in) in *champion* (tʃæmpɪn), *fashion* (fæʃən), perhaps also for (-in) in *beacon*, *pension* etc. (see §§ 404, 480 e Add.).

Note that *diamond* is given as a dissyllabic word as late as Smart, who adds that this pronunciation is 'colloquial'.

For no apparent reason medial (i) is sometimes added; cp. (flapɪdʌk) 'flap-dock (fox-glove)', (pəti-ool) 'pit-hole (grave)', (twɛlfɪdeɪ) 'twelfth-day' (dhɪkɪdʌt) 'that', (vɛlɪvɛər) 'field-fare', (fɪgɪpʌdn) 'figgy-pudding', also probably in *bisky-milk* (from *bisty-milk?; cp. § 380 and Gloss. s. v. *base*); cp. also *Foxydown* for *Foxdown* (the name of Mr. Elworthy's house). In nearly all these cases the forms without medial i are also heard. The explanation seems difficult, but may perhaps be found in the large number of words which have medial (i), for unstressed vowels of all origins e. g. in *occupy*, *ornament*, *oracle*, *sediment*, *suffocate*, *carroway-seed*, *character*; (i) in *pinnacle*, *sycamore*, *vagabond*, *creditor*, *extravagance* etc. See also § 401, 416 Add.

§ 416. *Bury* is transcribed with (bƿri), but *burying* is (bƿrin) as if the infinitive were (*bƿr). Perhaps (bƿri) is an adaptation from standard English, whilst (*bƿr) is the real dialectal form.

A notable case of apocope is (styyp) 'stupid s.'

Besides the cases of apocope we have a few instances where final -i has been added: (sleeti) 'slight', (tæti) 'teat', (wAApsi) 'wasp', (widhi) 'with'e'; see the analogous insertion of medial i, § 415b Add.

§ 418. Cp. colloquial English *He can't seem to shake off his cold; I shall hope to see him when I go; also I only have to help make my bed.*

§ 421, note 1. Where the Authorized Version has the regular forms, the Prayer-Book Version of the Psalms sometimes preserves the old forms e. g. Ps. 93. The floods have *lift* up their voice, where the A. V. has *lifted*.

§ 448. The present tense (nAAd) 'know' is another example of back-formation from the preterite; perhaps also (læd) 'lead'.

§ 451. For other ME. examples cp. *struppeð* by the side of *strūpeð* in the 'Katharine-group' (Stodte § 47, 2 Anm. 1) and Morsbach §§ 54 Anm. 5, 64 Anm. 3).

§ 452. The intransitive function of the suffix causes transitive verbs in (-i) to lose the ending. This accounts for the apocope of -y in carry, argue, see § 416. And verbs undoubtedly borrowed from standard English adopt the ending if they are intransitive, e. g. (figeri) 'to figure, cypher'.

§ 455. Sievers (Ags. gr. § 404 Anm. 1) shows that also verbs of the first class ending in a consonant + l, m, n or r, which in Southern English had preterites in -ede, soon adopted the endings with i. Hence these also passed into the second conjugation in Southern English.

§ 460. Ellis's materials show instances of singular nouns of measure after numerals in the specimen from Pulverbach (near Shrewsbury): *eighteen year* (Ellis V p. 184); and in a specimen from Norfolk: *why don't you pay me that two pound you owe me?* (Ellis V p. 277).

§ 467a. We should expect the Southern form to be **thilch*, or **thich*, cp. *which*, *each*. But a Southern ME. text like *Sir Firumbras* has *thilk*, and the legends of the 'Katharine-group' show *ilke*, by the side of *hwuch*, *swuch*, *euch* (Stodte §§ 40 f.). It may be that the *k* owes its origin to the masculine form in OE. *ilca*, for the pronoun was always used with the ending of weak adjectives.

§ 480c. For (skwƿrjælz) 'skittles' we may perhaps refer to (skwƿr) 'square', though the connection of *meaning* is not clear.

§ 480e. The ending (-in), which seems to stand for older -ing, has been substituted in (vlænin) 'flannel', and added in (vlægin) 'flag'; (fƿrin) by the side of (fƿrænt 'foreign' also seems to be due to such a substitution. For (-in) in *champion* a. o. see § 415b Add.

§ 489. Cp. also (reep) 'reap, sheaf' (OE. *ripa*, *riopa*).

§ 496. (i) in *heap* is, of course, worthless as evidence of a ME. *ē*; it may very well be due to standard English. But (ii) in *beam* is probably dialectal, for the word means 'the beam of a plough'.

§ 498. Cp. also standard (ii) in *peep*, *shriek*, *sneer*, *peer* a. o. (Heuser, *Beiblatt zur Anglia* 10 p. 367) and East Sussex (diiiv) 'dive', (hiiv) 'bee-hive', although ME. *ī* has, as a rule, been diphthongized in this dialect.

§ 515. There is no formal identity between (dhæəz) and standard *those*, for the latter points to ME. *þōs*, and (dhæəz) corresponds to a ME. **þōs* (see § 262). ME. **þōs* might be the result of earlier *þēos*, the regular plural for 'these'; for the change of *ēo* > *ō* cp. W. Somerset (myyz) 'moss' (§ 280) and (ryyz) 'ruse'. The final (z) in (dhæəz), as also in standard *those*, is due to the final consonant being taken for the sign of the plural, an explanation that is also necessary to account for the blending of ME. *þō* and *þōs* under *þōs* with the meaning 'those' (see also § 530).

§ 519. Note that the modern dialectal forms (tshAA, tshau) may represent a single ME. *chōwen*. For in Chippenham (Wiltshire) Ellis's lists give (nau) 'know', (zau) 'sew', (krɛu) 'crow'; and in Pewsey *chew* is pronounced (tshao), which corresponds to ME. *chowen*, whilst ME. *ū* in Pewsey produces modern (æo). In W. Somerset, however, (tshəu) cannot correspond to ME. *chōwen*. We must either assume a ME. form with *ū*, as in the case of *four*, or the word must be a loanword. The latter explanation is quite possible, for the real dialectal word seems to be *champ*, but if it is adopted we still have to account for (əu) in *row* v., *claw* (§ 286, note 1).

§ 524. Heuser (*Beiblatt zur Anglia* 10, p. 364) has pointed out that we find rhymes -*ought* : *aught* as early as Spenser, although Spenser only once rhymes *ou* : *au* in other combinations. This makes it probable that -*ought* had a different development from *ou* in other positions in the standard language as well as in many dialects and independently from them. See also §§ 550, 560.

§ 530. If *verjuice*, besides (vaardzhis), is also pronounced (vaardzhəz) there is no doubt that the *z* is due to the final syllable being taken for the suffix of the plural.

§ 544. Both W. Somerset and Pewsey have the first elements of diphthongs long or half-long (cp. here § 7 and Pewsey § 3).

In the dialect of the Baronies of Forth and Bargy (see Heuser, *Kildare Gedichte* p. 57) *speen* 'spend', *een* 'end', *zeend* 'send' also point to ME. -*énd*.

§ 545. Pewsey has (æi) in *ash-tree*, *mash*, *rasher*, *smash*, *splash*, also in *wash*; the last form shows that the influence of -*sh* preceded that of *w*- so that we may confidently trace (æi) back to ME. *ai*. We may therefore also discard the theory that (-aish) in W. Somerset is due to a dialectal adaptation of the standard pronunciation, as I still thought possible in § 208.

Pewsey (gEEp) 'gape' points to ME. *ǣ* with a later lengthening
 ust as Walker's (gaap); see § 203, note, and cp. (aa) in standard
father, rather.

Cp. also Pewsey (jekæ) 'acre', (jed) 'head'; (wÆts) 'oats', (wÆm)
 home'. (twÆd) 'toad'.

§ 546. Pewsey also has developed a (w) in *poison* (puAizn),
 also in *spoil, boy* (Pewsey § 144, 1).

§ 547. Medial *r* has become *d* in Pewsey in *contrary*.

Both W. Somerset and Pewsey have a velar *l* (see § 64). On
 the interesting history of Pewsey *l* see Pewsey §§ 12, 204, and
 Museum vol. 12.

Also *r* in Pewsey has a velar and even a labial articulation
 which is so strong that Kjederqvist hesitates whether words beginning
 with *r*- are pronounced with (wr-) or 'the lip-articulation of a *w*
 together with the tongue-articulation of an *r*' (Pewsey § 40). Cp.
 here p. 58 note 2.

§ 548. Pewsey also shows some back-formations from the
 preterites: (med) 'may', (klem) 'climb'. Note (kÆmd) 'came'.

§ 549. Note the substitution of (-ment) in *vermin* in Pewsey,
 the addition of -er to *mason* (mesnæ).

§ 567. Cp. in Burns's dialect (jee) 'ae', (jel) 'ale', (jins) 'ance',
 (jen) 'ane'; in this dialect the development seems to be limited to
 the diphthong corresponding to ME. *ā*.

§ 575, note 3. Pewsey (buÆitl) 'beetle, hammer', an undoubt-
 edly dialectal word, shows that the ME. Wiltshire dialect pronounced
ī for Oldws. *īe*.

§ 415. Prof. Bülbring suggests: '(vuærd) 'afford' may be the
 same voicing of a voiceless continuant (as in Verner's Law), as is
 found in *examine, resort, without, within* etc.; after that had taken
 place, the first syllable was lost: *afford* > *avord, vord*.

There is a chronological difficulty, however. The procope
 took place in ME., whilst we find no authority for the unvoicing
 before the MnE. period. If Bülbring's explanation is correct, we
 should be able to prove that such forms as (feen) 'offend' are due
 to standard English.



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